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Editor's Note

Lessons of L'Affaire Lott

The pathetic aftermath of Senator Trent Lott's public crucifixion for his brief remarks at Senator Strom Thurmond's one hundredth birthday party—a veiled insinuation that the country would have been better off racially had Thurmond's 1948 Dixiecrat insurgency prevailed against Harry S. Truman's presidential bid—confirms the need for an open and serious discussion of racial and ethnic issues, the raison d'être for the launching of this publication.

The lessons of l'affaire Lott loom large: the suggestion or mere hint that American society may have been better off in the pre-civil rights era or that all is not so well in this post-civil rights paradise is now deemed beyond the pale. Needless to say, rational discussions of race, ethnicity, and culture that take exception to the prevailing orthodoxy of racial egalitarianism and multiculturalism are off limits for public officials, public figures, and politically correct conservatives.

The example of a public figure crushed by political intimidation and interest-group pressure *for speaking freely in a free society* should have generated universal condemnation from conservative quarters. But no. The neoconservatives showed their true colors by leading the charge against Lott, and thus providing cover for their politically correct soul mates, the radical egalitarians. Any doubts as to the viselike grip that political correctness exerts on establishment conservatives are now dispelled. On race and ethnic issues, conservatives are indistinguishable from egalitarian leftists—all the more reason for a publication that, candidly and rationally, addresses the unmentionable: *The Occidental Quarterly*.

Not the least of the distressing aspects of the Lott fiasco was the (hardly surprising) confirmation of a leading "conservative" politician's lack of political integrity. (The difference between progressive and conservative public figures is that the former will defend their positions *on principle* whereas the latter coopt political positions for *unprincipled* reasons.) Lott's truckling to ethnic-minority interests to salvage his own political career, the latest in a long line of servile performances in such circumstances, hit rock bottom. Rather than stand up to his critics, Lott capitulated to a wave of criticism by turning his back on the triumphs and sacrifices of his forebears in order to save his own political hindquarters. Lott massaged his Southern heritage when it benefited his political career and quickly distanced himself from it when it hurt his political career.

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The Lott episode epitomizes the institutional reality of Republican Party politics in particular and the conservative establishment in general: the renunciation of their own racial loyalties for superficial individual gain. The lead article of this issue of TOQ, Richard McCulloch's "Race: Reality and Denial," and Frank Martell's review essay on "social capital" raise important fundamental questions that run counter to the prevailing intellectual current on what the distinguished cytologist John Randal Baker once identified as the "ethnic question." These and the accompanying articles in this issue reaffirm our commitment to providing a forum for intelligent and open discussion of the racial, ethnic, and cultural issues at the core of Western civilization and central to the survival of our biological and cultural heritage.

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Race: Reality and Denial

Richard McCulloch

Moviegoers who saw *Cats and Dogs* when it played in theaters during its summer 2001 release were subjected to an advertisement, shown before the previews, that boldly proclaimed, "Wake up. Race is a myth. Racism is real. www.endracism.org." The effect was surreal. How could this Orwellian falsehood be on the screen? Examples of racial denial have been around for a while, but mostly on the fringes, in obscure publications unaccessible to the masses. But such a blatantly ideological message on the silver screen indicates the extent to which anti-racial egalitarian propaganda has become so mainstream, so acceptable, and so normal.

Racially conscious Americans of Northern European ancestry, who love their race and seek its preservation, have long been concerned by its declining prospects. But moviegoers could very well wonder whether the continued existence of their race seemed more uncertain than ever, for nothing is more certain than that the political purpose of race denial is to become a self-fulfilling prophecy and cause the end, if not of every race, most certainly of Northern Europeans. How can our racial existence, the continued survival of our kinship, which many wish to preserve, be so flagrantly denied in this mainstream setting? How can it be possible that middle-American audiences are exposed to such a powerful and destructive message? That the object of our love and devotion does not exist, is not real, and that it is not acceptable to believe that it does exist? How did this come to pass?

The denial of racial realities is nothing new. It has been around at least since the time of Franz Boas. It is the *degree* of denial that is new. Denying racial reality has taken many forms over the last century, escalating in degree as the cultural dominance and control of its promoters has grown. Denial of racial differences has taken many forms over the years, especially denial of mental differences that cannot be seen but only measured indirectly. There has been denial of the scope and magnitude of racial differences in an attempt to minimize them, and denial of the consequences of multiracial conditions, particularly racial intermixture and its racially destructive effects. Now it is the very reality and existence of the different races, of tangible things that can be seen, that is denied.

Given the history of escalating race denial over the preceding century, we should have expected this development; we should have seen it coming. Perhaps when first encountering a claim that races were not real, we incredulously dismissed it as nonsense not worthy of concern or response, as

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something no one would take seriously. But we should have taken it seriously. Now it is approaching a position of politically correct dominance in the media and academia, with all that that means. *The very belief in the existence of different races is now in some quarters being equated with racism, and thereupon reductionist logic and causation link it ultimately with genocide.* In such quarters they beg their argument by explicitly stating that the reality of race must be denied in order to end racism and prevent genocide.[1] (A number of discussions, debates or arguments concerning the reality of race are posted on my website [www.racialcompact.com] and have appeared there since it was launched on the Internet in early 1998. Some of my arguments with race deniers have been direct, one-on-one exchanges. These have usually ended after my antagonists explicitly admitted their support, and even their desire, for Northern European extinction.[2])

The arguments used to deny the reality of race usually follow a similar pattern. The race deniers begin with attempts to discredit the traditional methods of racial classification, especially racial typology based on phenotype or physical appearance, the combination of all one's physical traits. Next they attempt to discredit the traditional racial divisions that are based on these methods of classification.

The purpose of this is to create confusion, ambiguity, and uncertainty about race. A definition of race is usually lacking from the race deniers' argument, either because they do not know how to define it, or because they know that an accurate definition of race would refute their argument. Finally, when enough confusion and ambiguity have been created, they merely reject the concept of race. But if you press the matter it usually becomes clear that the real issue for them is not the methods of racial classification, nor even the reality of races—the apparent focus of their argument—but the issue of *racial preservation*, and especially the issue of *Northern European racial preservation*. So when all is said and done, the ultimate issue is the same for race deniers as it is for racial preservationists: the continued existence of Northern European peoples and their racial types. The difference is that deniers are against the continued existence of the *racial distinctiveness* that differentiates Northern European peoples from other populations, whereas preservationists favor the survival of these racial traits and qualities.

A common tactic of race deniers is to demand proof of the reality of race, without setting a standard of what constitutes *sufficient* proof. Their standards of proof are artificially too high. This is related to their avoidance of an objective or accurate definition of race. Proof begins with an accurate definition, and it is the key to an effective refutation of race denial arguments. So, what is this thing called race?

To start at the beginning, the word race refers to the different geographic populations of humanity that share a common ancestry and can be distinguished from each other by an inherited combination of morphological

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traits, i.e., by genetically determined physical appearance or *phenotypes*. Race thus refers both to *populations* and to the *phenotypes* that are associated with these populations and by which they are identified. These populations and phenotypes existed for many thousands of years before the word race became the common term to refer to them. Thus the definition of the word race is, quite simply, those populations and phenotypes to which it refers.

This is, admittedly, circular logic, like Gertrude Stein's "a rose is a rose is a rose." But the existence and reality of things that are tangible, material, physical, and visible, that are clearly obvious to operable senses, are normally accepted as self-evident and not requiring external proof, as the proof is self-contained in such things themselves. Reasonable people do not question their existence or require proof of their reality based on some arbitrary standard. If the existence of something is denied, and the object is presented, its existence must be admitted. To deny the existence of something that is visibly present is unreasonable. The object that is dismissed by race deniers—the actuality of race—is visibly present in abundance, both for individuals and for populations, far beyond any reasonable requirement.

The Evidence for Racial Reality

But if more proof is asked for, what kind of proof is required for the reality of race? What standard of proof is reasonable? If concrete proof is not enough, and the proof of abstract logic is required, the best proof is a convergence of proofs—proofs from different and independent lines of evidence that converge in mutual and consistent support for the same conclusion. Some of the convergent lines of evidence consistent in mutually supporting the reality of race include: geography, history, phenotype, evolutionary theory, forensic science, and, most recently, genetic studies.

Races are geographically real. As such, races constitute geographical *populations* with a geographic distribution. These distinct populations were, until recent times, geographically separated from other races. Their origin and existence are connected to a specific geographic region they have historically inhabited. The connection of geography and race is seen in the strong correlation between the *degree of racial difference* and the *geographic distance separating the original habitats* of the different races. The geographic connection is important because races are breeding populations that form a common gene pool and stable racial environment over many generations, and before modern transportation advances this required that the native homeland of the race be geographically limited and compact. The continuation or preservation of the race also required geographic separation from other racial elements to prevent intermixture or replacement that would alter or destroy the race. This meant that other races had to be excluded from its geographic range, that its possession of its native homeland had to be racially exclusive. This exclusivity did not have to be total or absolute, but sufficient to create and preserve the race.

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Although migrations of racial elements outside of their original homelands have occurred, especially in the last five centuries, often intermixing with other races to create intermediate forms, the populations that remain in the original homelands act as control groups or standards of reference for racial classification and study. Emigrant populations that expanded the geographic range of their race into new habitats, and restricted their reproduction within their own race, continued to be of the same race as those in the native homelands, and in their racial heritage and origins they remained identified with those homelands. These geographic populations are facts on the ground, existing in the real world, in their own part of the world exactly where one would expect to find them, there for all to see. They are facts that can be observed and measured as part of objective reality, marked by their distinguishing physical characteristics or racial phenotype. *National Geographic* magazine, in its long history of publication, has published countless articles that irrefutably document the geographic connection, distribution, and reality of race.

Races are historically real. The major races of Europe, Asia, and Africa that we know today, as well as many of their subraces, are documented in the written historical record from its beginning over three thousand years ago, and in the artistic record over a thousand years earlier. The races of the Americas, Australia, and the Pacific entered the historical record from the moment when the first Western explorers found them. From the dawn of history to our own time the existence, geographic location, distinguishing physical features, and movements of these races have been a recognizable part of the historical record. Races are also prehistorically real. Modern prehistorians, anthropologists, and archaeologists have pushed our knowledge of the modern races back thousands of years before the beginnings of written history. It is clear that the races we know today have existed, in a continuum of generations, for many thousands of years.

Races are phenotypically real. Phenotype, the physical part of race that we can see, and so must admit that race is at least that if nothing more, is tangibly and visibly real. It is also the visible proof that race is inherited, that it is genetically transmitted from generation to generation with scientific consistency and predictability. This means that race is genetically real. It is determined by *different combinations of genes*, hence a physical trait that is *polygenic* in nature, and thus race is in fact genetically determined, which means that race is a biological phenomenon and biologically real.

Phenotype—the genetically inherited and determined traits of physical appearance—is also the definitive racial identifier used to classify race. Every race has a certain range of different phenotypes, or racial elements, within its population. But there is no phenotypic overlap between the major racial divisions of humanity. If you took three groups of one hundred individuals each from Nigeria, England, and China—with each group being representative

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of its native populations—the average person would have no difficulty identifying which group was which. Even if they were all mixed together, the average person would have no difficulty separating them by phenotype into their correct racial category with complete accuracy. However, phenotypic overlap is often found between the racial subdivisions within the major racial divisions. If you took three groups of one hundred individuals each from three different subdivisions of the Caucasian racial division, represented by England, Italy, and Syria—with each group being representative of its native populations—the average person would again have no difficulty identifying which group was which. Although there would be some phenotypic overlap between the English and Italian groups, and between the Italian and Syrian groups, each group would contain a large majority of phenotypes that would be rare or absent from the other groups. If the groups were mixed together the average person would probably be less than completely accurate in separating the English from the Italians, or the Italians from the Syrians, but it is likely that he would be completely accurate in separating the English from the Syrians. Phenotype proves that race is real. But it also illustrates to some extent that race is a continuum, marked by many subdivisions with subtle gradations of racial change that correlate with spatial and temporal distance.

Evolutionary theory supports the reality of human races. It assumes that the extent of biological variation within a species correlates with the extent of its geographic range. The greater the geographic range, the greater the degree of biological variation. *Race is biological variation*. The human species has had a hemispheric geographic range for perhaps 100,000 years and a global geographic range for at least 10,000 years, and displays the high degree of biological variation that evolutionary theory expects and predicts from such a widely distributed population. Biological variation is the driving force behind evolution and the creation of new species. It is caused by the separation of populations by geographic distance or barriers. It would be inconsistent with evolutionary theory if the human species, with its unsurpassed level of geographical population separation, did not display a highly developed degree of biological variation, developing or evolving into different races. There is a logical progression to evolution. It is continuous, from phylum to class to order to family to genus to species to race. It does not stop with species. It creates races, which develop in turn into new species. Race is the evolutionary stage of a population before it becomes a different species. To deny it is to claim that evolution has stopped.

Forensic science supports the reality of the human races. Forensic scientists can identify race from skeletal remains with great accuracy, as described by forensic scientist George Gill:

> The "reality of race". . . depends more on the definition of reality than on the definition of race. If we choose to accept the system of racial taxonomy that physical anthropologists have traditionally established—major races: black,

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> white, etc.— then one can classify human skeletons within it just as well as one can living humans. The bony traits of the nose, mouth, femur, and cranium are just as revealing to a good osteologist as skin color, hair form, nose form, and lips to the perceptive observer of living humanity. I have been able to prove to myself over the years, in actual legal cases, that I am more accurate at assessing race from skeletal remains than from looking at living people standing before me. So those of us in forensic anthropology know that the skeleton reflects race, whether "real" or not, just as well if not better than superficial soft tissue does. The idea that race is "only skin deep" is simply not true, as any experienced forensic anthropologist will affirm.[3]

Genetics is the newest branch of evidence to support the reality of race. Ironically, genetics is the line of evidence that race deniers favor—in fact it is often the only one they will accept—in the belief that it supports their contention that race is merely a "social construct." In reality, and in spite of the obligatory protestations to the popular press by geneticists to the contrary, *race is a genetically determined physical trait*. There are also many genetic differences between the races in genes that are not determinative of race. There are countless genetic studies that show racial differences in the frequencies of different gene sequences and genetic traits, although the term "population" is commonly used as a euphemism for race.

The primary reason that race deniers claim that genetics proves that race is not real is the *percentage* of genetic differences *between* the races. They claim that the percentages are too small to constitute different races or, to put it another way, that the variation gap among *Homo sapiens* is too narrow to legitimately justify the concept of race. They do not say what standard is applied to determine what percentage of genetic difference is required to constitute a race, only that the difference between human populations is too small. But no percentage of genetic difference has ever been asserted as a basis for racial classification. Indeed, until the last two decades scientists and laymen alike had little idea what the percentage of genetic differences was between races, or between species. When they make this argument, race deniers do not mention that the genetic difference between humans and chimpanzees is also much smaller than the layman would tend to expect. Most genetic studies show a genetic difference of 1.5 to 1.7 percent between humans and chimpanzees, with the most commonly cited figure being 1.6 percent.[4] But this represents far more than the genetic difference between races. It is more than the genetic difference between species, and even more than the genetic difference between genera. It represents the *genetic difference between taxonomic families*, because humans and chimpanzees are in different biological families. Humans are in the family Hominidae (of which they are the only surviving species) and chimpanzees, the closest living relatives of our species, are in the family Pongidae.

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What are the percentages of genetic differences between the human races? Perhaps the best study to date on this subject is that of Masatoshi Nei and Arun K. Roychoudhury (1993).[5] Nei and Roychoudhury use a different methodology than that of L.L. Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1988), which in their opinion "introduced unreasonable branching patterns into phylogenetic trees," a reference to Cavalli-Sforza's grouping of Northeast Asians in the same cluster with Caucasians rather than with Southern Chinese and Southeast Asians. The following percentages of genetic differences between populations and the phylogenetic tree below are from their study.

PERCENTAGE OF GENETIC DISTANCE OF THE ENGLISH, JAPANESE, AND NIGERIAN POPULATIONS FROM OTHER POPULATIONS PER NEI AND ROYCHOUDHURY (1993)

English Distance	*Japanese Distance*	*Nigerian Distance*
German .002	Korean .006	Bantu (Natal) .027
Finn .005	Mongolian .012	San-Bushmen .075
Italian .007	S. Chinese .023	Italian .130
North Indian .020	Filipino .026	German .131
Iranian .022	Thai .030	English .133
Lapp .025	Polynesian .035	Finn .133
Mongolian .055	North Indian .040	North Indian .135
Japanese .061	N. Amerind .042	Iranian .136
Korean .061	Iranian .050	Mongolian .141
S. Chinese .073	Finn .054	Korean .143
Filipino .074	Italian .055	Lapp .145
N. Amerind .076	German .057	Japanese .149
Thai .081	English .061	Filipino .150
Polynesian .096	Lapp .061	S. Chinese .155
San-Bushmen .097	Australoid .062	N. Amerind .158
Bantu (Natal) .108	San-Bushmen .108	Thai .161
Australoid .122	Bantu (Natal) .117	Polynesian .166
Nigerian .133	Nigerian .149	Australoid .176
Chimpanzee 1.60	Chimpanzee 1.60	Chimpanzee 1.60

If one were to spatially visualize the first column of the above scale, with a German standing at a distance of 20 feet from an Englishman, a Finn would stand at a distance of 50 feet, an Italian at 70 feet, a northern Indian at 200 feet, a Japanese at 610 feet, a North American Amerindian at 760 feet, a Nigerian at 1,330 feet, and a chimpanzee at 16,000 feet. The greatest percentage of genetic difference is .176 percent between Nigerians and Australian

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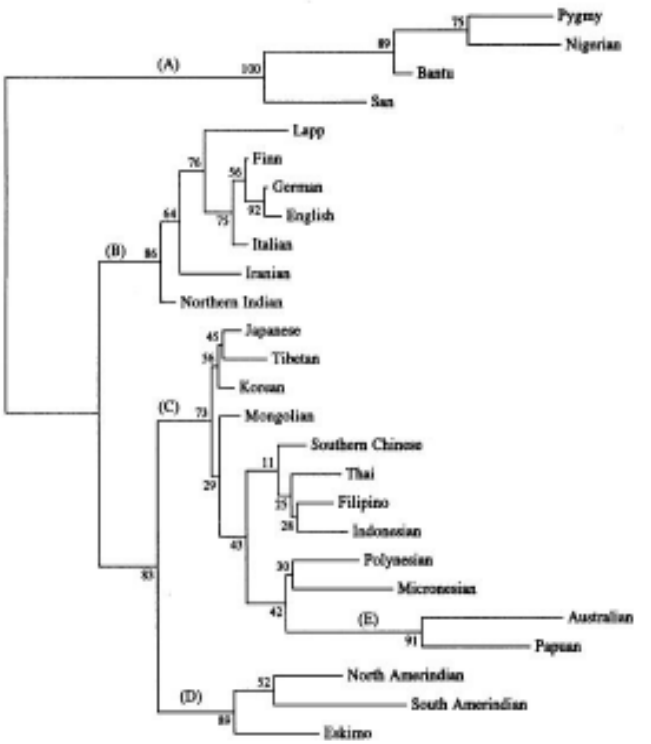
Aborigines. This is 11 percent of the genetic difference of 1.6 percent between humans and chimpanzees, different biological families whose ancestral lines are believed to have separated 6-7 million years ago.[6] It is also worth noting that for both the English and the Japanese, representing Europeans and Northeast Asians, the greatest percentage of genetic difference is with the Nigerians, and that the degree of this difference, .133 percent for the English and .149 percent for the Japanese, is very similar. (The first split in the ancestral lines of the human races, that between Africans and non-Africans, is believed to have occurred 180-270 thousand years ago.) By comparison, the English and Japanese degree of difference from the Australian Aborigine population, .122 percent for the English and .062 percent for the Japanese, is very different, with the English-Australoid difference twice as great as the Japanese-Australoid difference.

The phylogenetic tree below—representative of 26 human populations from Nei and Roychoudhury (1993), which includes the following major population divisions: Africans (A), Caucasians (B), Greater Asians (C), Amerindians (D), and Australopapuans (E)—graphically illustrates the genetic relationships among different populations.



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This phylogenetic tree illustrates how genetic studies group phylogenetic populations of humanity into superclusters and clusters that are consistent with the traditional racial divisions and subdivisions, providing genetic proof that race is real and traditional racial classifications are indeed accurate. The political statements made by geneticists to the popular press to the effect that their studies show that "race is not a valid scientific concept," or that "race has no genetic or scientific basis," should be seen in this context and perspective. Such politically motivated statements cast doubt on the integrity of the scientific process as practiced by these geneticists, tending to discredit their studies.

The cumulative effect of theses converging lines of evidence should make it clear beyond any reasonable doubt that race is real. But before we come to the conclusion that the claims of the race deniers are beyond reason, some of their more common arguments should be examined.

Arguments for Racial Denial

1. *The genetic ignorance argument*. We do not yet know which genes or specific clusters of genes actually determine racial differences, or how they do it. Race deniers use this to claim that race is not genetically real. Yet no one can reasonably dispute that race consists of inherited traits, transmitted by parents to their children, and inherited traits must be genetic traits, as the only means known by science to transmit inherited traits is through the genes. Also, we do not yet know what genes are involved in causing many diseases that are known to be inherited, yet because we know they are inherited we know they are caused by genes, and the search for these genes is the purpose of most genetic studies.

2. *Argument by trivialization*. This argument admits the reality of population differences, both physical and genetic, but claims they are of no importance and are not great enough to qualify as racial differences. This argument attempts to make the issue of racial reality a subjective value judgment, and belittles the biological variation that exists between the diverse human populations as being of no value or importance, and not a legitimate matter for concern, love, or devotion. Basically, this argument asserts that the only human traits that are valuable or important are those traits shared by all humans in common, while racial differences, those traits that are unique to particular populations and not shared by all, are of no significance.

3. *Argument by false definition*. Race deniers frequently confuse race and species in their argument, setting a standard for race that is the same as the standard for species, implicitly applying the definition of species to race. Since humanity is one species, with no different human species, it is then argued by false definition that there are no different human races, defining race out of existence. The distinguishing difference between species and race, of course, is that species cannot interbreed, or at least do not interbreed under natural

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conditions, while races can and do interbreed when there is extensive contact between them. Race deniers wrongly use the existence of hybrid or racially mixed individuals and populations, which prove that the different human populations interbreed and are therefore races rather than species, as proof that all humans are of one race, not different races, confusing race with species and defining race out of existence.

As one recent study states:

> If biological is defined as genetic then . . . a decade or more of population genetics research has documented genetic, and therefore biological, differentiation among the races . . . [I]t is difficult to conceive of a definition of "biological" that does not lead to racial differentiation, except perhaps one as extreme as speciation.[7]

An example of the effort to define race out of existence can be found on the website of Palomar College.[8] It sets up a strawman, a false definition and very narrow and strict standard of what constitutes race, allowing it to deny the reality of race on the grounds that human variation does not meet that standard or definition:

> Most physical anthropologists would agree that this human variation is not now sufficient to warrant defining separate biological races, varieties, or sub-species. However, it very likely was in our prehistoric past.

But if races did exist, were real, in our prehistoric past, when did they cease to exist and stop being real? What happened to them that caused them to no longer be races? How did it happen? When did it happen? What is the standard that determines what degree of human variation is sufficient to warrant defining separate biological races, for race to be considered to be real? When was this standard created, and who created it? What standard, if any, did it replace? Did the reality of race ever depend on a standard set by physical anthropologists? Was not the term "race" common usage to refer to identifiable populations and individuals, and defined as those identifiable populations and individuals, long before physical anthropology existed? And if the use of the term race to refer to identifiable populations and individuals predated the existence of physical anthropology, how and why should physical anthropologists presume to redefine it out of existence? Or is it not that races have changed, but that the racial composition of academia has changed, that classrooms, student bodies, campuses, and faculties have been multiracialized, and that this multiracial environment discourages any expression of racial consciousness and identity, even the belief that race is real, as racially divisive? So, how should race be defined?

As with other things that exist, an accurate definition of race is one that describes it as it is, as it *actually* is and *really* exists. The definitions of race in modern encyclopedias and dictionaries describe something real, race as it really is, and by those definitions race exists and is real. Race as a biological concept and the reality of racial differences have not changed. However, definitions of race have changed, as race deniers have attempted to change the definition of

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race to redefine it out of existence. If race does exist as described in earlier standard definitions, but does not exist as described in the new definition of the race deniers, that means that the new definition is wrong and does not accurately describe the reality of race, not that race is not real. An accurate definition describes something as it is, not by some abstract concept of what it should be followed by a declaration that it does not exist when it does not match that concept. *Race is not an abstract concept but something that is tangibly and visibly real.* The race deniers who say they do not believe in the "concept" of race know this. They know what the common usage of the term race refers to, what the accurate definition of race is, and what we mean when we refer to race. They know what we are talking about, and they know it is real. But the race deniers are too clever by half. They know the only way they can deny race is to create a false definition under which race does not exist, and by which they can pretend to refute the reality of race. The reasons for their success in this argument, like their motives, are political, not scientific.

It should be noted that egalitarian academics who promote these political quasi-definitions, which deny the reality of race, typically avoid any discussion of the arguments put forth by John R. Baker in his landmark 1974 book *Race* when rejecting the conventional concept of race. In terms of establishing the meaning of "race," the book offers a definitive treatment of the subject. Baker, who ranked among the foremost biological authorities as a cytologist at Oxford University and a Fellow of the Royal Society, recognized several fallacies that egalitarians devised in their attempt to undermine the biological realities of race, which he carefully pulverized in 625 pages of text, substantiated with 1181 references from the scientific literature. One important point that Baker addressed rebuts one strawman definition that the notion of "intermediates" invalidates the legitimacy of race,

> It is sometimes claimed that the existence of intermediates makes races unreal. It scarcely needs to be pointed out, however, that in other matters no one questions the reality of categories between which intermediates exist. There is every gradation, for instance, between green and blue, but no one denies that these words should be used. In the same way the existence of youths and human hermaphrodites does not cause anyone to disallow the use of the words 'boy,' 'man,' and 'woman.' It is particularly unjustifiable to cite intermediates as contradicting the reality of races, for the existence of intermediates is one of the distinguishing characters of the race: if there are no intermediates, there are no races.[9]

4. *Argument by false methods of racial identification and classification*. Similar to number three above, this argument claims that the traditional typological methods of racial identification and classification based on morphological traits or phenotype are arbitrary. It contends that other methods would yield very different results, classifying different types—as measured by these different methods—into groupings that differ from the traditional racial groupings, making them meaningless and arbitrary. Blood groups, for

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example, are not distributed in a manner that coincides with the traditional racial groupings. But the traditional methods of racial classification by racial typology or physical appearance are not arbitrary, for the simple reason that they are based on, reflect, and are consistent with the real geographic populations of humanity, as they really exist, and therefore with objectively observable and verifiable reality. They are the traits that differ between these real populations, the differences in physical appearance by which these populations can be accurately distinguished and identified, and by which they are and have been accurately distinguished and identified for millennia. Those traits that are not distributed in a manner that coincides with real populations are not valid methods of racial identification in the real world.

5. *The continuum and differentiation argument*. This is an argument based on the real complexity of race, that refutes the many simplistic concepts and systems of racial classification and then pretends that it has refuted the reality of race. The reality is that race is a complex of multiple continuums with gradations of intermediate, hybrid, or mixed types (called clines) between the distinct types at the ends of the continuums. These clines are geographically distributed in clinal zones located between the regions inhabited by the distinct types. Race deniers argue that these intermediate, mixed, or clinal types make scientifically accurate differentiation between the races impossible. Dividing lines between races in the intermediate ranges of the racial continuums are often difficult to determine and appear arbitrary, especially in simplistic classification systems that attempt to fit all human populations into a few major races. The race deniers exploit this complexity to discredit the accuracy of the simplistic classification systems and then deny the reality of the complexity. But the existence of continuums or clines, rather than disproving the reality of race, is actually a characteristic of race, and thus serves as proof of its reality. If there were no racial continuums or clines there would be no intermediate forms, no interbreeding between the races, and humanity would be divided into species rather than races. Without different races there could be no continuums or clines between them, so the existence of continuums is proof of the existence of races. As stated in the study cited above, "The existence of such intermediate groups should not . . . overshadow the fact that the greatest genetic structure that exists in the human population occurs at the racial level."[10]

6. *The scientific obsolescence argument*. This argument claims that the idea of race is based on a false, outdated, and obsolete concept of science from a previous era, e.g., the "colonial era," the seventeenth century, etc. In other words, it says that belief in race is backward, outdated, and "old-fashioned," an adjective that has great weight with those who like to see themselves as advanced thinkers. It cites false beliefs or myths about race from those earlier eras that are easily refuted as proof of this claim, and by refuting these false beliefs pretends that it has refuted the reality of race. Every branch of science has suffered from many false beliefs and theories during its history. Physics,

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biology, and medicine began in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., and each has had a long history of false beliefs and theories, yet these sciences are still recognized as valid. They are not regarded as obsolete because of discarded false beliefs.

7. *The social or political construct argument*. Race deniers and deconstructionists often claim that race is a social or political construct that has no biological or genetic reality. This argument includes the claim that the idea of race was created in America, with the first contact of Europeans with other major races and the subsequent centuries of their political and social inequality, and that America exported its concept of race to Europe and the rest of the world. This argument (which shares some ideas with number six above) often gains credence from biologists and geneticists who try to avoid the political controversies surrounding race by claiming it is not relevant to their studies. But it collapses when confronted with an accurate definition of race and the most basic evidence of racial reality. The irony is that the idea that race is not real has itself been socially and politically constructed during the last several decades.

The following newspaper article from 1996 shows this process of construction and many of the race denial arguments and techniques, with my comments in brackets:[11]

> WASHINGTON — Thanks to spectacular advances in molecular biology and genetics, most scientists now reject the concept of race as a valid way to divide human beings into separate groups. [What ‘‘spectacular” advances? Genetic studies show the validity of race, and other sources claim that “most scientists” accept that validity.] Contrary to widespread public opinion, researchers no longer believe that races are distinct biological categories created by differences in the genes that people inherit from their parents [Argument number one above. Not inherited from parents? No scientist is quoted as saying this.] . . . “Race has no basic biological reality,” said Jonathan Marks, a Yale University biologist . . . Instead, a majority of biologists and anthropologists, drawing on a growing body of evidence accumulated since the 1970s, have concluded that race is a social, cultural and political concept based largely on superficial appearances. “In the social sense race is a reality. In the scientific sense, it is not,” said Michael Omi, a specialist in ethnic studies at the University of California at Berkeley. [Argument number seven]
>
> The idea that races are not the product of human genes may seem to contradict common sense. [Races not the product of genes? As in the similar statement above, no scientist is quoted as saying this.] “The average citizen reacts with frank disbelief when told there is no such thing as race,” said C. Loring Brace, an anthropologist at the University of Michigan. “The skeptical layman will shake his head and regard this as further evidence of the innate silliness of those who call themselves intellectuals.” [The preemptive argument, number 13 below]
>
> The new understanding of race draws on work in many fields. “Vast new data in human biology, prehistory and paleontology . . . have completely revamped the traditional notions,” said Solomon Katz, an anthropologist at the University of

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> Pennsylvania. This is a switch from the prevailing dogma of the 19th and much of the 20th century. During that period most scientists believed that humans could be sorted into a few . . . inherited racial types [The obsolescence argument, number six above] . . . As recently as 1985, anthropologists split 50-50 when one of their number, Leonard Lieberman of Central Michigan University, asked in a survey if they believe in the existence of separate biological races . . . As a sign of the change, Lieberman said most anthropology textbooks published in this decade [the 1990s] have stopped teaching the concept of biological race . . . [T]he revised concept of race . . . reflects recent scientific work with DNA . . . "We are beginning to get good data at the DNA level," said a Yale geneticist, Kenneth Kidd . . . [which] "support the concept that you can't draw boundaries around races." [The continuum argument number five above]

The Marxist ideological tradition is the logical source of this contention. This Marxist connection is given further support by the ethnic dynamics of race denial. The victims of race denial are the European races, and especially the Northern European race. It is they, and only they, who are actually threatened with dispossession and destruction by multiracialism, a process assisted by race denial. The beneficiaries of race denial, those who want to "abolish the white race"—in the terms of Noel Ignatiev, a long-time Marxist-Jewish activist for both Marxism and the destruction of the European races under cover of the Marxist theory that races are social classes rather than biological populations—are non-Europeans. Their classic Marxist revolutionary goal is to overthrow, dispossess, destroy, and replace the European race, and in Marxist fashion they define it as a social class, socially constructed, rather than a race. Their class enemy, the oppressive and privileged "social class" that they want to abolish, is the "white" race. In the context in which they use the term, "white" refers only to the European peoples, and especially the Northern European peoples. There always was an ethno-racial agenda behind Marxism, and the Marxist-Jewish promoters of that agenda have caused great harm to the European peoples over the last century.[12] Noel Ignatiev proves that this anti-Northern European Marxist racial agenda is still operating against the interests of the Northern European race.

Since the 1960s the racial agenda of Marxism, and the Marxist political "left," has become more obvious. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the "left" identified the aristocracy and "bourgeois capitalists" as the "class enemies," "exploiters," or "oppressors" to be overthrown by revolution and destroyed. In the late twentieth century it increasingly targeted the "white" race as the enemy, as an oppressive and evil racial elite that must be overthrown by any means necessary. Consistent with this view, the "left" has revealed a distinctly anti-Northern European bias, causing it to single out the Northern European race for marginalization, devaluation, dispossession, and extinction. By the end of the 1960s this bias had become explicit, as illustrated by the following account concerning the militant Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society:

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> I remember going to the last above ground Weatherman convention, and sitting in a room and the question that was debated was, "Was it or was it not the duty of every good revolutionary to kill all newborn white babies." At that point it seemed like a relevant framing of an issue, the logic being, "Hey look, through no fault of their own these white kids were going to grow up to be part of an oppressive racial establishment internationally, and so really your duty is to kill newborn white babies." I remember one guy kind of tentatively and apologetically suggesting that that seemed like it may be contradictory to the larger humanitarian aims of the movement, and being kind of booed down.[13]

By the end of the 1960s racial Marxism, focused on race rather than class, was explicit. Perhaps it was too explicit. So it sought cover by disguising itself in the classic Marxist jargon of class struggle, only now the class enemy was the "white" or Northern European race, redefined as a class. In defining the Northern European race, or "white" race, as a social class, racial Marxists theorized that the "white" race was politically and socially constructed by its position as a privileged and oppressive social class exploiting other classes that were socially defined as non-white. According to this theory the "white" race did not exist genetically or biologically, but only as a ruling social class. Those who were members of the ruling class were "white" while those who were not members were non-white. By this theory the "white" race only exists when there is another class defined as non-white that is politically and socially below it that it rules and oppresses. Also according to this theory, the "white" race only came into existence when Europeans made contact with non-European peoples during their conquest and colonization of the Americas, and established themselves as a ruling political and social class over the native and other non-European peoples. The Europeans then became "white" and the non-Europeans became non-whites. The concept of race was then socially and politically constructed in the Americas to legitimize and secure the ruling position of the "white" social class.

This theory is blatantly simplistic in its reduction of race to two groups: "white" and non-white. The peoples of East Asia and Central Africa certainly regard themselves as different races, as do the native peoples of the Americas. But the racial Marxists cannot admit any differentiation other than "white" and non-white. To do so would refute their definition of race as socially constructed classes. Also, the European races did not change biologically, genetically, or racially in the sixteenth or seventeenth century Americas when and where they began to exist in close contact with other races for the first time. European-Americans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not biologically, genetically, or racially different from their pre-sixteenth century European ancestors, or from their European contemporaries. Twentieth century Irish-Americans were not biologically, genetically, or racially changed from their pre-sixteenth century Irish ancestors, or from their contemporaries in Ireland. The dialectic of racial Marxism claims the "white" race only came into existence with the colonization of the Americas by Europeans in the

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sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But what historical race inhabited Europe in the Middle Ages and before if not the "white" race, the biological ancestors of the people now classified as "white?" If this were simply a matter of semantics, with racial Marxists using the term "white" for class rather than race, and using other terms for racial classification, their argument would have some credibility. But what they say is that race is socially and politically constructed, that this began in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and then spread to Europe and the world.

It can be argued that the awareness of human racial differences began in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the different races first came into contact. But the different races existed, were real, long before they came into contact with each other. The contact did not create the races. It created awareness and knowledge of the different races, and that led to the study and classification of race. Contrary to the theories of racial Marxism, America did not create race, nor did it give race to Europe. America created multiracialism, different races living together in close contact in the same territory, and in the second half of the twentieth century multiracialism spread to Europe, largely through the efforts of the racial Marxists. In the America of previous centuries the existence of different social classes based on race restricted and slowed the process of racial intermixture that is the logical consequence of multiracialism. But in the second half of the twentieth century, largely through the efforts of the racial Marxists, the social class barriers between the races that restricted intermixture were attacked and largely removed, making it possible for the full consequences of multiracialism—Northern European racial destruction through intermixture—to be realized. Race denial is part of this process of Northern European racial destruction, conceptually destroying the Northern European race to promote its physical destruction.

The social and political construct argument is not about social class but about race. It is not about science, but about politics—racial politics. It did not originate from any scientific discovery, but from the rise of multiracialism and the racial transformation it is causing. It is not motivated or driven by scientific interests, but by the ethno-racial interests of the rising non-European groups. Those who make this argument are not destroying or abolishing a social class. They are trying to abolish or destroy the Northern European race.

Race is biological, a creation of genetics, biology, nature, and life. It is biologically constructed through evolution by the same process of divergence that has created all the diversity of other life forms. The legal status of being a citizen of a multiracial country is politically and socially constructed, a creation of men and their laws rather than of biology and nature. This is nowhere more evident than in a mass multiracial naturalization ceremony in which a racially mixed group of applicants becomes naturalized citizens. The applicants of

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different races can change their citizenship and national status by a simple legal procedure. But their race is determined by their genetic inheritance from their ancestors, and cannot be changed.

8. *The argument that the individual variation within populations is greater than the variation between the averages of the different populations or, put another way, that most human variation occurs between individuals rather than races.* This is another attempt to minimize the significance and value of racial differences. But it compares extremes with averages, and the traits it compares are not the traits that are racially definitive, not traits that characterize any real geographic population, not the traits by which we identify races and distinguish them from each other.

9. *Argument by intimidation.* This is often the first method of argument, in hopes that the opponent will cower and retreat before a verbal onslaught of insults, threats, and accusations, and that a substantive argument will not need to be made. If it fails, and the more substantive argument also fails, the race denier often reverts to it as the argument of last resort.

10. *Argument by distortion.* Race deniers frequently distort, falsify, or misrepresent the arguments for the reality of race, including racial definitions and systems of classification, in part to create a strawman that can be easily refuted, and in part simply to cause confusion.

11. *One-sided argument.* This is the milieu in which race denial thrives and in which it has been promoted, an Orwellian intellectual milieu of de facto censorship in which the arguments of racial denial are stated as simple fact and no counterargument, challenge, or rebuttal is permitted. Given that many, if not all, of the race denial arguments are fallacies that could be easily refuted, this is probably also the milieu required for race denial to succeed. The above newspaper article is an example of this technique, making many questionable statements that are not questioned because the report is completely one-sided.

12. *Begging the argument.* The theater advertisement mentioned at the beginning of this essay is an example of this, the claim that the reality of race has to be denied in order to end racism. According to this argument, those who believe in the reality of race are perpetuating and abetting racism and giving aid and comfort to its practitioners. If one is opposed to racism and wants to end it, this argument begs, one must deny the reality of race. As forensic scientist George Gill observes:

> Those who believe that the concept of race is valid do not discredit the notion of clines . . . Yet those with the clinal perspective who believe that races are not real do try to discredit the evidence of skeletal biology. Why this bias from the "race denial" faction? This bias seems to stem largely from socio-political motivation and not science at all. For the time being at least, the people in "race denial" are in "reality denial" as well. Their motivation (a positive one) is that they have come to believe that the race concept is socially dangerous. In other words, they

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> have convinced themselves that race promotes racism. Therefore, they have pushed the politically correct agenda that human races are not biologically real, no matter what the evidence.
>
> Consequently, at the beginning of the 21st century, even as a majority of biological anthropologists favor the reality of the race perspective, not one introductory textbook of physical anthropology even presents that perspective as a possibility. In a case as flagrant as this, we are not dealing with science but rather with blatant, politically motivated censorship.[14]

13. *Preemptive or anticipatory argument*. As in the quote of C. Loring Brace in the above newspaper article, this technique anticipates the normal reaction to the argument and preempts it by stating it first. This advance statement is simply presumed to refute the anticipated reaction, although it does not actually address or answer it.

14. *Argument from authority*. When attempting to convince people that what they see with their own eyes is not real, does not exist, and is not to be believed, it helps to be supported by supposed experts and authorities who are presumed to have superior knowledge of the subject. Hans Christian Andersen's story "The Emperor's New Clothes" is the classic description of this technique, and the growing denial of the reality of race, supported by statements from scientists who are the supposed experts and authorities, proves that he did not exaggerate. The above newspaper article is an excellent example of this technique. Yet much of the racial denial by the scientific community is intellectually dishonest. Scientists still study race at the genetic level, only they do not use the word "race," using the word "population" instead. The geographic populations they study, which they prefer in native and unmixed (i.e., racially pure or distinct) form, are of course races, and have been referred to as races for centuries. But modern scientists do not study racial phenotypes, the traits that identify and define race, that are race, and therefore should not be regarded as experts or authorities on racial typology or identification. Their ability and knowledge in this area may be no greater than that of the average person. Yet one does not need to be an expert to recognize race by phenotype. Everyone does it, including the scientists who say that race is too ambiguous to recognize. All of us racially identify every person we look at, automatically, unintentionally and involuntarily. This is natural, a simple fact of nature. We all have the important ability to recognize our own kind and distinguish it from other kinds. Given the focus of this ability, it is very accurate at distinguishing our own kind, or race, from other races, and less accurate at distinguishing other races from each other. We know our own kind, our own race, best. This is where the so-called ambiguity of racial identification by phenotype is found. But the people of other races are able to distinguish their own race from other races with great accuracy. Their racial identification is not ambiguous to them, but as distinct and real as our race is to us.

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The scientists who deny the accuracy of racial typology use it to racially identify people in their everyday lives, outside of their specialty, as much as the rest of us. So why the denial of something they have done all their lives? Why the claim that what they do all the time cannot be done? Most of the same scientists who now deny the reality of race made no such denial, and found no difficulty or ambiguity in racial identification, twenty or thirty years ago. So what has changed? What has happened to cause the scientifically recognized races of thirty years ago to now be denied? What discovery or addition to knowledge has proven that race does not exist? What proof was and is required for the reality of race, and why? What is the standard for race to be real, by what definition of race, and who set that standard and definition? It seems that the supposed experts about race are trying very hard to be ignorant of race, to know nothing about race, to deny race, to make themselves believe that race does not exist. So why the concerted effort to not see what is plain to all, to be racially blind? Why the exercise in scientific obscurantism? Is it because racial identification by phenotype is not a product of scientific study, and remains outside of science because scientists have not developed a scientific version of it that accounts for all the complexities of racial reality? Is it because decades of exhortations to practice racial blindness, and to be literally racially blind, are having their intended effect? Is it because the multiracialization of school and college classrooms and faculties, as well as of the news media and most of the workplace, has made recognition of the reality of race, and the racial tension and division it causes, socially and politically intolerable? Is it a logical consequence of the racial revolution and transformation of the West that began in the 1960s, and of the growing power, influence, and de facto control and domination of the rising non-Northern European ethno-racial groups? Or is it a matter of ethno-racial self-interest for some, as it is for Noel Ignatiev and was for Franz Boas before him, and political self-interest for others, as it was for the Emperor's experts in the Andersen story? It is probably all of these, some more than others. But regardless of the denials of certain scientists of questionable motive, competence, and integrity, the existence and reality of race is a creation and fact of nature, not science. Race existed long before science. Its existence is not dependent on science, but will continue with or without science, whether science defines it accurately or not. Those who see reality for themselves know that the scientists who deny the reality of race are wearing no clothes, despite all their scientific and expert claims to the contrary.

Conclusion

Before racial denial became the lead argument for opponents of Northern European racial preservation, their main argument was the claim that the Northern European race was mixed rather than "pure," and that because of this racial mixture and impurity, it was not worthy of preservation. Of course, these were the same people who were advocating more, in fact total, racial

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intermixture and impurity for the Northern European race, not the opponents of intermixture who wanted to prevent it in order to preserve the race. Also, of course, they did not describe the nature or extent of the intermixture they were referring to, nor provide any definition or standard of what constitutes racial "purity" and what level of it is required to justify racial preservation. Their arguments for racial impurity were, and are, as ambiguous as the arguments for racial denial. The answer to them was, and is, the same as the answer to the race deniers who claim that race is not real and does not exist, and that there is thus nothing there to preserve. I tell them that I love and want to preserve my race as it is, to preserve what is as it is, whatever that might be, and whatever they might call it. Whether they call it a race or not, or pure or not, it is the population and associated phenotypes that many want to preserve. And they know what I am talking about. On an operative level, they know what my race is as well as I do, and it is as real for them as it is for me. The difference is that what some racial empiricists seek to preserve, they want to destroy.

Race denial should not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. It is very much a product of its times. It can only be properly understood in the context of the racial revolution and shift in ethno-racial power of the last half century. It is part of the ethno-racial offensive against the Northern European race that is destroying the Northern European peoples racially, genetically, and biologically by multiracialism and racial intermixture. The existence that it denies is the existence that it is helping to destroy. As a recent paper on genetic studies that affirms the reality of race informs us:

> Geographic isolation [i.e., racial separation] and in-breeding (endogamy) due to social and/or cultural forces over extended time periods create and enhance genetic differentiation [i.e., create and preserve races], while migration and inter-mating reduce it [i.e., multiracialism and racial intermixture destroy races].[15]

Race denial is more than a fallacy. It is more than the sum of the many fallacies, the false arguments, used to support it. It is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It serves a purpose. Race deniers beg their argument with the claim that belief in race leads to racial oppression and genocide, so the purpose of race denial is to end racial oppression and prevent genocide. Actually the reverse is true. The real purpose of race denial is not to prevent genocide, but to prevent racial preservation, specifically the preservation of the European races, and most specifically the Northern European race. In short, the real purpose of race denial is not to prevent genocide but to help cause it. The true motive and intent behind race denial is to promote and assist the racial dispossession, replacement, and destruction of the Northern European race. Race denial, and every race denier, is against racial preservation, and specifically against the preservation and continued existence of the Northern European race.

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Ironically, race denial is racially motivated. Its source and base of support is among the non-European ethno-racial groups. It is they who seek the dispossession, replacement, and destruction of the Northern European race, even in its ancient homelands. It is they who benefit from it, they who are the dispossessors and replacements. The existence of the other races is not threatened by race denial, so they can promote it from a position of racial immunity. It is the European races, and only the European races, and above all the Northern European race, who are threatened with extinction, and whose destruction is assisted by racial denial. Race denial is anti-Northern European in the most extreme sense of the term, as against the very existence of the Northern European race. Thus race denial is itself a part of the racial competition, and a product of the racial dynamics, the racial dialectic, of multiracialism and the process of racial destruction that it promotes. It might appear to be a political phenomenon, with political motives, but it is actually a racial phenomenon, with racial motives—motives much stronger and deeper than politics, which is only the means to serve racial ends. It serves as a cover for those racial ends. It hides the process of racial destruction behind the protective cover of a false dogma that says that the race being destroyed does not really exist, thus nothing real is being destroyed, and there is no valid reason to resist or oppose the destruction. But the race that is being destroyed, the population and its traits that the race deniers are trying or helping to destroy, are real, and they are mine. They are the object of my love and devotion, the center of my concern. They are all the people of Northern European ancestry and type, in their many millions, whose existence is being denied, and under the cover of that denial is being destroyed.

Richard McCulloch is the author of ***The Racial Compact*** *(1994),* ***The Nordish Quest*** *(1989),* ***Destiny of Angels*** *(1986), and* ***The Ideal and Destiny*** *(1982).*

End Notes

1. See Glayde Whitney's review of *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium* by Joseph L. Graves, Jr., in the Winter 2001 issue of *The Occidental Quarterly* (Vol. I, No. 2). Graves's claim that race is not real is explicitly motivated by his opinion that the belief in race is an obstacle to "social justice" and the elimination of racism.

2. The substance of some of these exchanges can be found on my website at http://www.racialcompact.com/reality_of_race.html.

3. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/first/gill.html. Dr. George W. Gill is a professor of anthropology at the University of Wyoming. He also serves as the forensic anthropologist for Wyoming law-enforcement agencies and the Wyoming State Crime Laboratory.

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4. The methodology that shows a human-chimp genetic difference of about 1.6 percent shows a genetic difference of less than 0.2 percent between the human races. Feng-Chi Chen of National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan and Wen-Hsiung Li of the University of Chicago (2001) put the human-chimp gene difference at only 1.24 percent. Prof. Roy Britten of the California Institute of Technology, using a very different methodology, puts the figure at 5.4 percent (2002). This raises the obvious question regarding the difference between the human races using this same methodology: Would it also be more than three times as great?

5. Masatoshi Nei and Arun K. Roychoudhury, "Evolutionary relationships of human populations on a global scale," *Molecular Biology and Evolution*, Sept. 1993 (pp.927-943): http://www.molbiolevol.org/cgi/gca?sendit=Get+All+Checked+Abstract%28s%29&gca=10%2F5%2F927.

It is unfortunate that no Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian), Slavic, or Arab populations were included in this study, and that the English, German, and Italian groups were not divided into regions. It is possible that an east English group would be genetically closer to a Danish or northwest German group than to a west English group.

6. These genetic studies are based on nuclear DNA, the genes that are actually responsible for racial variation. Other studies of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), such as that of Jody Hey and Eugene Harris (1999), show a difference between the human races that is about 4 percent of the difference between humans and chimpanzees.

7. http://genomebiology.com/2002/3/7/comment/2007/, Neil Risch et al., "Categorization of humans in biomedical research: Genes, race and disease," *Genome Biology* 2002 3(7): comment 2007.1-2007.12. Published 1 July 2002. This article is an excellent scientific summary of the evidence from genetic studies for the reality of race.

8. http://anthro.palomar.edu/vary/vary_2.htm . This is a tutorial page on the website of the Behavioral Sciences Department of Palomar College, San Marcos, California, authored by Dennis O'Neil. Paloma College is a public two-year community college with about 30,000 students. The views expressed on this page are probably representative of what most social science students are currently taught about race. This should have probably been a predicted and expected result of multiracial education, with its chilling effect on racial research, where racial truth is the first casualty.

9. John R. Baker, *Race*, Oxford University Press, p. 100.

10. Risch et al., "Categorization of humans in biomedical research."

11. Robert Boyd, "Scientists: Idea of Race is Only Skin Deep," *The Miami Herald* (Oct. 13, 1996), p. 14A.

12. For a detailed examination of this subject see Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements*, Praeger, 1998.

13. Doug McAdam, in "Picking Up the Pieces," part 5 of the PBS series *Making Sense of the Sixties*, televised January 23, 1991. It can be assumed that in the context of this racial Marxist debate at the Weatherman convention it was understood that the term "white" did not include Jews.

14. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/first/gill.html.

15. Risch et al., "Categorization of humans in biomedical research."

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IMMIGRATION AND THE NATION'S HEALTH

VIRGINIA DEANE ABERNETHY

Nothing is more vital to the safety and survival of Western nations than the enduring health of their populations. During earlier periods of population migration, countries that encountered high immigration levels, such as the United States during the 1880s and early 1900s, took stern measures to restrict the flow of immigrants, in part out of public health concerns. Poor hygiene among immigrants and inadequate screening measures by public health officials during these high-influx periods triggered legislative reforms that severely restricted immigration levels to the United States. Lately, public health officials have considered another potential risk of importing infectious diseases.

A recent panel discussion featuring speakers from the Harvard University School of Public Health warned of diseases being newly introduced into the United States. Increasing risk, they said, was linked to 25 million Americans who travel annually to third world countries. Who would have considered that American tourists could become such a risk to their local communities, contaminating hearth and home with infectious diseases from abroad!

What, then, of infections brought into the United States through immigration, by the approximately 1.2 million legal and half-million illegal aliens who enter each year? It is American travelers who are the threat, not immigrants, insisted the Harvard panelists. Their stark message was that nothing could be blamed on immigration.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC) deal, rather more forthrightly, in facts. An impartial concern for public health drives their frequent reports on the rising incidence of tuberculosis, hepatitis (A, B, C, and E), malaria, and various contagious or infectious diseases long thought to have been defeated — or never before seen — in the United States.

Tuberculosis (TB) is a prime example. The bacterium that causes tuberculosis "infects one third of the world's population."[1] Keeping pace with the increasing impact of post-1965 immigration from the third world, America's TB rate has been growing since 1984. The prevalence of TB in the countries of origin of most immigrants to the United States is 10 to 30 times

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greater than in this country.[2] Risk is greatest where recent immigrants concentrate. For example, a 1996 investigation of an Alexandria, Virginia, high school found that one-quarter of the students carried tuberculosis bacteria.[3]

In December 2000, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* cited the CDC's conclusion that tuberculosis is continuously being reintroduced by new immigrants.[4] The TB rate among foreign-born U.S. residents was 32.9 per 100,000 persons over a six-year observation period ending in 1999, more than five times as great as the native-born rate of 5.8 cases per 100,000. Through late 1999, immigrants accounted for 42 percent of the 18,000 identified cases of TB.[5] The CDC estimates that the rate among the foreign-born will continue to escalate, as it has already in California, New York City, and Northern Virginia.[6]

In Canada, immigrants account for two-thirds of active TB cases. Twenty per 100,000 of foreign-born persons carry the TB bacterium, a rate fifteen times as great as among native-born Canadians (excluding Indians).[7]

Until recently, legal immigrants to the United States were screened only for active disease, and illegal immigrants have evaded screening measures altogether. The majority of foreign-born with active TB tend to have had a reactivation of a latent condition. Their impact on the U.S. healthcare system is magnified through transmission to the native-born population. Approximately half of cases among U.S.-born persons are new. That is, they result from contact with someone who is infected, rather than from a reactivation of latent infection.[8]

On average, a person with active TB infects 20 others annually,[9] although, at the high end of the range, a boy adopted from the Marshall Islands into a small town in North Dakota infected 56 persons, including his unrelated legal guardian.[10] In Toronto and Hamilton, Canada, dozens of people infected by one Gaspare Benjamin, recently arrived from the Dominican Republic, are suing the Canadian government for short-comings in its health-screening process.[11]

A complicating factor is multi-drug resistant cases of TB, which develop if the (six-month) treatment program stops before the bacillus is totally eliminated from a patient's system. The World Health Organization reports that countries formerly part of the Soviet Union, the Philippines, Peru, India, Bangladesh, China, various sub-Saharan African countries, and South Africa have a high proportion of drug-resistant strains among their TB caseloads. In 1999, multidrug-resistant strains accounted for 1.3 percent of TB cases in the United States,[12] and the proportion is rising.

Crowded housing, early childhood and old age, or compromised immune systems linked to other medical conditions create vulnerability for contracting TB. The bacterium is airborne, so risk is also associated with being eight hours or more in confined spaces, such as trains or planes.[13]

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Children Especially at Risk

American children are increasingly at risk not only from introduced diseases, but also from preventive measures against these diseases. For example, since 1991 the CDC has recommended that all babies born in the United States should receive vaccinations against hepatitis B virus. The three-shot vaccination confers lifelong immunity against a disease that is transmitted by blood or intimate contact, much like HIV, except that it is many times more contagious than HIV.

Areas where hepatitis B is endemic include Asia and the Pacific Islands. *The foreign-born account for 40-60 percent of all U.S. cases.* As of 1991, an estimated 1.25 million carriers, capable of infecting others, lived in the United States, and an estimated 22,000 newborns, annually, acquire the virus from their mothers.[14] Only half of hepatitis B carriers show early symptoms, but up to a quarter eventually die of liver failure or liver cancer.

The hepatitis A virus also affects the liver and is highly contagious. On the U.S. side of the Texas-Mexican border, and in California, residents have a disease rate that is two to three times the national average. The virus is transmitted through unclean food and water and spread by infected food handlers or processors. In 1997, frozen strawberries grown in Mexico and processed in San Diego sickened consumers as far away as Michigan.[15] Young children are at highest risk because of unreliable hygienic practices in school and play environments.[16]

Vaccinations against measles/mumps/rubella (MMR) are routinely administered to American-born babies, and immunization records must usually be provided before enrollment in kindergarten. Nevertheless, epidemics break out in school systems because immunization may not be checked when children, even those from countries that lack preventive public health programs, enter at later grades. American children are subjected to repeat MMR booster shots if epidemics break out in their school.

North Carolina leads the nation in incidence of rubella, and "Latinos" account for 80 percent of the cases. The measles-like viral infection causes severe birth defects if contracted by a woman in the early stages of pregnancy.[17]

Assorted Disease Agents

Americans who come into direct or indirect contact with immigrants are exposed to an array of infectious agents that they would otherwise not encounter in this country. Infection may result in discomfort, severe illness, or death.

Public health alarms near ports of entry or in single communities have been raised in connection with many conditions in addition to the more commonly introduced diseases, such as TB and hepatitis. Among these are cholera

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(endemic in South America), the West Nile virus (identical to a strain identified in Israel that killed four people in New York City), bubonic plague, ebola virus, and leprosy. Then there is the neurocysticercosis parasite, increasingly prevalent among children in the United States and endemic in Mexico, where it is a principal cause of seizures; the parasite uses pigs as a vector and is spread through accidentally ingesting infested feces or eating pork infected with the parasite's ova.[18]

Public Costs

Public health measures as well as treatment for disease are costly to taxpayers. Public expenditures directed toward the care of individual immigrants have been most studied, but are not the whole story. For example, New York City allowed a decline in tuberculosis surveillance and care because it seemed largely unneeded when the disease was receding. The city's 1989 budget for all expenditures on TB was $2 million. The shock of discovering the immigrant-driven resurgence in TB rates drove the 1991 budget to $50 million, with annual increases to come.[19] The wake-up call to treat multiple-drug resistant TB eventually cost the city $1 billion.[20]

Economist Donald Huddle, at the behest of the Carrying Capacity Network, evaluated the fiscal impact of health-related payments and medical care for immigrants. The 1996 cost of Medicaid for legal and illegal immigrants was found to be $*14.55 billion*, net of contributions by immigrants. The net cost of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) was $2.76 billion. Legal immigrants accounted for more than 80 percent of these costs.[21]

Social Security records obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that elderly and disabled immigrants apply for SSI shortly after arriving in the United States, despite promising the U.S. government that they would be supported by relatives. The Associated Press reports that, "Immigrants made up 11% of SSI rolls in December 1992, up from 3.3% a decade ago." [22]

The Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) in Washington, D.C., focuses on how immigration affects the number of U.S. residents without healthcare insurance. Principal findings of a July, 2000, CIS study are that "[i]mmigrants who arrived between 1994 and 1998 and their [U.S.-born] children accounted for an astonishing 59 percent or 2.7 million of the growth in the size of the uninsured population since 1993." Compared to the 13.9% without healthcare insurance in native American households in 1998, "32.4 % of persons living in immigrant households … lacked health insurance."[23]

Not surprisingly, immigrants are heavy users of the nation's hospital emergency rooms. In 1997, New York City hospitals provided $1.2 billion in care to immigrants "who could not pay."[24] The foreign-born also account disproportionately for use of maternity services. In 1999, 20.2 percent of U.S. births were to the foreign-born, contributing to the 56 million foreign-born

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residents and children of immigrants who were in the United States at the time of the year 2000 census.[25] Approximately half of married, illegal Latino aliens have a child who is a U.S. citizen by birth.[26]

Informing Public Policy

Immigration's costs are varied and high. Children, the poor, and those with compromised immune systems are at greatest risk from deteriorating public health, crowded clinics, and higher ambient levels of contagious disease. Local and state taxpayers bear the increased fiscal weight of disease—both for treatment and prevention.

The principal beneficiaries of immigration are the immigrants themselves and employers who benefit from cheap labor. Business profits from paying low wages while shifting certain of their labor force costs to the public at large. Employers enjoy the concentrated benefits of low-wage labor, whereas the cost of public services, including healthcare, education, and the infrastructure used by immigrants and their children, are widely distributed. Public debate on the costs and benefits of immigration, and the national interest in receiving approximately 1.2 million legal and half a million illegal newcomers annually, is long overdue.

Virginia Abernethy is emeritus professor of psychiatry at Vanderbilt University Medical School and is the author of ***Population Politics*** *(Transaction 1999) and a former editor of* ***Population and Environment****.*

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Living White: A Personal Challenge and Responsibility

Robert S. Griffin

Recently, I wrote an article entitled "Rearing Honorable White Children," in which I reported on the parenting practices of racially conscious white parents whom I had encountered while writing a book on the white nationalist William Pierce.[1] That article reflected what I have privately come to refer to as a "living white" perspective, by which I mean the piece was essentially about racially aware white people engaging in activity that reflects their racial beliefs and commitments. It is this living white perspective that I explore in this writing.

The living white perspective, or construct, shines a light on the nature and quality of the lives of individual white people—this one, that one, and that one over there, and you and me. How are we doing? Day to day, month to month, year to year, are we doing what is natural and right for us? Are we living with integrity, in alignment with our deepest insights and highest values? Are we living proudly and openly and courageously? Are we getting important things done? Are we healthy and happy? Are we loved and supported? Are we living honorable white lives?

This concern for the circumstance of individual white men and women and boys and girls reflects a "small picture" in contrast to a "big picture" frame of reference, the latter being more abstract, theoretical, and impersonal. By big picture I mean analyses of what is happening in society overall, what is going on politically, what ideas and ways ought to prevail in the culture, that sort of thing. In this white racial area, a big picture orientation might result in a consideration of what is happening with immigration in America, or interracial crime, or white nationalist political strategies. At least potentially, small picture and big picture orientations are complementary, each informing and completing the other. The ideal, it seems to me, is a white racialist worldview that harmoniously integrates "all-of-it"—matters of history, philosophy, analyses of the cultural and social context, visions of the future of the race, and so on—with "one-of-it," which concerns the fates of particular, mortal white men, women, and children.

I see an imbalance at the moment, however: namely, too much focus on the big picture at the expense of the small picture. That is to say, I think we are better at talking about how it all works than how our individual lives work. My worry is that without greater attention to what I am calling living white—specific and realistic personal goals and down-to-earth, practical strategies and

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actions for achieving those goals—too many racially conscious white people will end up talkers rather than doers, and feel okay about that. Too many will become reviewers, commentators, spectators in life, rather than participants. Too many will come to assume that circumstances in the world and in their own lives are bigger than they can do anything about and as a consequence they will live lives characterized more by coping and hiding out than by honest self-expression. Too many will live with a significant discrepancy between what they know and value and the way they conduct their lives, and this will gnaw at them and, over time, take its personal toll on them. Too many will have lives that are more frustrating than gratifying—"knowing the score" and "talking a good game" are a poor substitute for living with dignity.

Thus I think it advisable to give greater attention to the manner in which actual white people conduct their lives. My assumption is that there are ways of living that grow out of white people's basic nature and cultural heritage. If that is so, if there is an approach to life that is natural to us, consistent with who we are, what is it? What does it mean to live white? What does it mean for whites collectively, and—the concern here—what does it mean for an individual? How does an individual answer that question for himself, or herself? And after answering it—or anyway, resolving it—the question becomes, is she or he actually managing to live that way? Is he or she getting it done? Getting it done involves figuring this out, concretely, and then implementing it successfully. It involves getting from hopes to reality. Goal achievement capability is crucially important: living an honorable white life takes more than insight and good intentions; it takes efficacy, the ability to make things happen in one's own life. It takes "how-to" capability. Another way to put it: the white racialist movement needs a technology of personal change to complement its ideological positions and social and cultural analyses and programs.

The Basics

White persons are born with a particular genetic makeup. They grow up, and live as adults amid particular influences, prominent among them their racial and cultural heritage, their parents and other relatives, friends and acquaintances, their church, neighborhood, and school, the contemporary social and cultural circumstance, and the mass media. They find mates and some work to do and a place to live. They create a family and rear children. They take part in leisure activities. They engage the larger world: organizations, politics, the public discourse. They experience success and failure, love and satisfaction, pain and regret. They get sick and get well and then get sick and die, leaving whatever mark on posterity they do. The idea of living white says to each of us: this is the playing field of your life. Work within this context and fashion an honorable life as a white man or woman.

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There isn't just one way to be an honorable white person, but I propose honorable white lives have some common characteristics:

1. There is a strong sense of *racial identity and pride.*

2. There is a strong sense of *racial commitment,* a dedication to live in accordance with the highest ideals or standards of the white race.

3. There is a sense of *racial responsibility* to one's racial brethren.

4. There is *racial integrity*. There is a tight fit between the individual's highest racial convictions and actions. A tight fit, not a perfect fit; life isn't perfect, but there is a good correspondence between one's racial beliefs and one's deeds.

5. There is *courage and toughness.* These days, the world is very unfriendly to people with a strong white racial consciousness, to the point that it would do them in if it could. Living white requires fortitude, and it requires hardness and resilience. Living white means being fierce when it's called for and knowing how to fight and being willing to do it.

6. There is *physical and mental health.* You can't get it done if you are dragging physically—tired, washed out, overweight, half sick, and addicted to one thing or another, as so many people are, even those who are considered to be in good health. And you can't get it done if inner demons call the shots and lead you off into the marshes.

7. There is a *positive mental attitude.* Unfortunately, the most highly developed capability among many white racialists is identifying how somebody else (often another white racialist) is wrong or messed up, and being pessimistic and cynical—a sure ticket to personal stagnation and inner upheaval.

8. There is *efficacy* (how-to capability). You can't live with integrity and responsibility if you are unable to get good things done. Significant accomplishment is necessary to living white. Significant accomplishment doesn't have to mean altering American foreign policy in the Middle East. It can mean getting good results with your children. It can mean finding work that allows you to express your values and live more honestly. It can mean creating a living space that reflects who you truly are. Efficacy comes down to the ability to set tangible, imaginable, realizable objectives and take effective action to achieve those goals. Some people seem to know everything about everything, but when they try to do something they come up short. Others seem to spend all their time weighing options and making plans that they will implement when the time is right—but the time is never right.

9. And a last characteristic common to those living an honorable white life: *personal happiness*. By personal happiness I mean a basic sense of satisfaction, of gratification. It is the experience of "Yes, life is good." Indeed, there are pain and loss and downtimes, as there are in every life, but pervading it all is the conclusion, "I'm living the life I should live." Amid the struggles and setbacks, and outweighing them by far, is victory and self-respect and peace of mind. I believe that happiness results from doing what you ought to do, and white people ought to live true to their nature and their heritage. If you don't, if you live with major incongruities between how you conduct your life and who you are at the

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core of your being, you may have cars and houses and worldly acclaim and people who admire and love you, but still, deep down, you won't experience real happiness.

Possibilities

Below, I'll describe five outcomes that have resulted for me from looking at things through the lens of living white. I hope this list encourages readers to identify concerns and projects related to their own interests and circumstances.

First, I have been prompted to talk to other people about what it means to live white. Here's one example from a recent e-mail exchange: "My thoughts on the 'white way of life,'" my correspondent offered, "are that there's a quietness, an industriousness and a graciousness about it. Whites tend to their gardens, work in their fields, chop wood, walk their dogs, smoke their pipes, write their letters and read their books. They make things with their hands. They speak softly. I see this in rural, suburban, and urban settings. This may come as a surprise to you, but one good example of this is Garrison Keillor's radio program on NPR. Keillor features white folk music and wistful tales of this character and that: the parson and his failed romance, the football star who became principal, the spinster librarian and her delicious apple pies. Keillor doesn't glorify high-flying capitalists and violent rap stars but rather celebrates modesty, frugality, peacefulness, and respect for natural forces. Keillor captures the white spirit well: sturdy values, gentle humor, matter-of-factness, church socials, calm perseverance, enjoyment of the simple things . . . really, the joys and sweet sorrows of life on earth, in a community of white racial kin." And then in reply to my response to what he said: "When I referred to 'high-flying capitalist,' I was thinking of a race-traitor type, snorting cocaine in his high-priced Manhattan apartment, with no morals and no loyalty to racial kin, who is bent on enriching himself whatever the cost to anyone or anything else. And I absolutely agree with you that adventurism, artistic intensity, and entrepreneurship are part of what it means to be white. I was just expressing my new-found skepticism of the materialistic individualism promoted by globalist conservatives and libertarians—a crew I once found myself attracted to."

Second, I am finishing up a book made up of the personal accounts of fifteen racially conscious white people, *One Sheaf, One Vine: Fifteen White Americans Talk About Race*. The title comes from a Rudyard Kipling poem, *The Stranger*:

Let the corn be all one sheaf—
and the grapes be all one vine,
Ere our children's teeth are set on edge
By bitter bread and wine.

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Third, I've thought about the possibilities of a Living White website devoted to practical, how-to-do-it matters, with postings, articles, and links. "I don't like what is happening to my neighborhood and have heard about inexpensive land in Kentucky and building 'backwoods' homes. Where can I learn more about that?" "How do I make my work more reflective of what I believe?" "How can I pass on their heritage to my children?" "How can I get tougher?" (I am reminded of a comment by a white racialist: "If you are going to be one of us, you have to be willing to fight up close.") "Is there anything I can do about my children's education besides homeschooling? Is a Waldorf school a good possibility?" "How do I get politically involved?"

Fourth, many racially conscious whites feel isolated and unsupported. Another e-mail acquaintance put it this way: "How can I make some local connections? I feel a need to communicate and collaborate with like-minded folk. I want to be around a healthy Euro way of life that is continuing and growing, where kids are embracing their heritage and its lore and its music." In response to this and similar statements, I have thought about the possibility of what I am calling at this point White Honor Clubs. The idea would be to have local clubs whose purpose is to support members in their efforts to live honorable white lives. It could be a place for social exchange and networking, and for idea sharing and advice giving and mutual support. It could be a place to discuss how to find a good place to live or work that is consistent with your racial ideals, or how to raise and educate children, or how to stand up to the pressure to conform to ideas and ways that are contrary to your racial beliefs. It could be a place to get more informed—books to read, web sites to visit, people to contact, etc.—and stronger personally. It could be a place to identify constructive things to do. It could be a place to identify and undertake collaborative projects, say, in response to some local issue. All of which is to say that a White Honor Club would be about the well-being of the people in the room.

Fifth, over the last five years, and increasingly the past year or so, I have personally tried to move in the directions that I outlined in the last section—toward greater racial identity and integrity, toward courage and health and a more positive mental attitude. I am living a truer life now than before, and, indeed, I'm happier now than I was.

The Challenge and the Responsibility

The living white idea says that if we want to improve the world we need to improve ourselves. It says that we need to go beyond knowing the way and pointing the way to *being* the way. It is not enough for us to understand what is going on in the world and to advocate the right things. The measure of us as individual human beings is the extent to which we engage in a quest to live consistently with what is deepest within us and are at least reasonably successful at it. The living white idea says we need to turn away from the big

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issues facing the race long enough to ask, "What am I doing with my time on this earth? In the way I am conducting my life, what do I exemplify racially, what do I further racially? What are some tangible things I can do to live a more honorable white life?" The living white idea says that whatever answer we come to in response to the last of these questions, the one about what I can do, we need to get about doing those things—and not tomorrow, *today*.

Robert S. Griffin is the author of ***The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce****, available at Amazon.com. He can be contacted at Robert.S.Griffin@uvm.edu.*

End Notes

1. The article: Robert S. Griffin, "Rearing Honorable White Children: Instilling Racial Identity in Today's Children," *American Renaissance*, Vol. 12: No. 10, October 2001, pp. 1, 2, 4. The book: Robert S. Griffin, *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce* (Bloomington, IN: 1stBooks Library, 2001).

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The Death of "Social Capital"

A Review Essay on Community, Race, and Civic Fidelity

Frank Martell

For almost two decades now some critics have warned about the culture of individualism engendered by our capitalist system, attacking it and advocating in its stead the sense of community inherent in participatory or democratic racial nationalism. Until recently, the establishment media and academic elites have almost unanimously (except for a few Marxist professors) heralded the virtues and wonders of capitalist individualism. But now cracks have begun to appear in the once solid wall of academia, which bodes well for the long-term prospects of racially conscious nationalists.

A core of sociologists led by Harvard professor Robert Putnam is now lamenting the decline of "social capital," namely allegiance to community, which has occurred in America over the past three and a half decades. In his recent book *Bowling Alone,* Putnam admits "social capital is to some extent merely new language for a very old debate in American intellectual circles. Community has warred incessantly with individualism for preeminence in our political hagiology." But his work is a comprehensive and compelling study that demonstrates that the social fabric of the country is fraying to the point of tearing apart.

Despite the Revolution of 1776, America has always been an Anglo-Saxon capitalist culture with an innate tension between the desire to serve one's own interests and the conflicting desire to do good that is, to serve our society as a whole, which usually requires some self-sacrifice, and sometimes requires the ultimate self-sacrifice. Alexis de Tocqueville wryly described the American "synthesis" in response to this problem:

> Americans enjoy explaining almost every act of their lives on the principle of self-interest properly understood. It gives them great pleasure to point out how an enlightened self-love continually leads them to help one another and disposes them freely to give part of their time and wealth for the good of the state.

But of course a truly self-interested person does not really care whether the pursuit of his own goals benefits the state or not, so why constantly be mentioning it? It is easy to understand de Tocqueville's amusement, but this fundamental flaw in our ideological thinking has allowed a corrupt leadership to draw us down a path that can only lead to our destruction as a cohesive people and culture. Putnam sees that cohesion as being solidified by the Second World War, and sees each succeeding generation since then as less committed to community and more committed to self.

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To make its point, *Bowling Alone* reviews the available sociological data that describe social activity in every sphere of civic participation, and in every sphere of ordinary social interaction, which Putnam calls *schmoozing*, using the Yiddish term for getting together with others in such things as bowling leagues, or card clubs, or just evenings spent with friends. Fortunately, as sociology has grown into a real social science, long-term survey data tracked over the decades are now available to be analyzed. In short, Putnam found that from about 1970 on there has been a dramatic and steady decline in all the ties that bind—what he calls social capital; and no doubt he calls it that because he is trying to get the leadership of the country, the capitalist elite, to recognize that there is a problem, and to do something about it.

He starts with voter turnout and finds a 25 percent decline since 1970, and an even steeper decline in the attendance at political party meetings and functions. Even the writing of letters to the editor and the signing of petitions have declined. Perhaps most important is the decline in trust of government. "Trustworthiness lubricates social life," writes Putnam; it is what makes cooperation and efficiency possible. And Americans no longer trust their government:

> In the 1990s roughly three in four Americans didn't trust the government to do what is right most of the time. A single comparison captures the transformation: In April of 1966 with the Vietnam War raging and the race riots in Cleveland, Chicago and Atlanta, 66 percent of Americans rejected the view that "the people running the country don't really care what happens to you." In December 1997, in the midst of the longest period of peace and prosperity in more than two generations, 57 percent of Americans endorsed that same view.

But it gets worse; yes, Americans do not trust their leaders, but they also do not trust one another. In 1952, about half of all Americans believed they lived in a morally upright society; this number declined to about 25 percent by 1998. About half of those born prior to the Second World War now say that they trust most people, but only 20 percent of their grandchildren say the same. Now a half is not that impressive, but then again ours has never been a nationalist society, and a 50 percent trustworthiness rate is starting to look awfully good.

Is it this lack of faith in the goodness of our fellow citizens that has caused the decline in social participation that Putnam tracksCthe failure in ever increasing numbers to join civic and community service organizations, to volunteer as coaches for youth sports teams, to attend PTA meetings, to go to church, and to help out its support groups? Is this why the average age of bridge club members is in the seventies, and why we are bowling alone when we once bowled in leagues? Or rather is it the reverse: that we no longer trust because we no longer associate ourselves closely with one another in the myriad of organizations that are available to us? Or is it something else that has caused both the loss of faith in one another and the loss of the desire to join organizations that are ostensibly working to make society better?

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Putnam reviews the usual suspects in trying to determine the causes of the decline of social capital, and here he struggles. He concludes that:

1. Time and money pressures on the new two-career family contribute about 10 percent to the problem.

2. Suburbanization, with its size, sprawl, and extended commuting, contributes about another 10 percent.

3. Television and other electronic entertainment that privatize our lives contribute about 25 percent.

4. The rest he attributes to generational change but does not explain why each succeeding generation is more self-interested than the one before it.

Obviously the book is weak here, and gets even weaker when Putnam pretends to be optimistic about the future; he unconvincingly attempts to draw an analogy between the present and the Progressive Era of a century ago, which saw the birth of thousands of new civic and ethnic organizations that worked for the common good to counter the evils of industrialization.

The lack of realism that undermines the last two parts of the book has to do with his unwillingness to grapple with the realities of both race and class, the two touchstones of nationalist thought. Moreover, Putnam never mentions the spirit of the times, or how that spirit is created, by whom, and for what purpose. This Zeitgeist, or "tyranny of the prevailing view" as Orwell called it, or political correctness as it is called now, pervades all that we do and say. When most agree with its basic precepts it can be a motivating, even ennobling force, but when most do not believe in its fundamentals, it becomes corrosive, and cynicism rises as people are forced to live as they do not wish to live and are compelled to say things they know are untrue.

Today we are forced to say that all are created equal, when few really believe it. We pretend that there are no significant differences between the races, and even between the sexes. Since all are equal, and since there are good and bad people in every race and in both sexes, then only the individual matters. The Zeitgeist further enshrines individualism through popular culture—the ubiquitous saying of "Look out for number one" captures the essence of capitalist philosophy. Its nationalist antithesis, "One for all and all for one," is never heard, except in romantic novels. We have been reduced to individuals by those who fear the cohesion of a united white culture led by strong white males, and by those wealthy white leaders who place their own personal profit, power, and prestige above the interests of their own kind, as they know that in the game of individualism the rich have all the cards, and that in a culture of self-interest they will never be called upon to sacrifice for the good of the whole. Such is the corrupt spirit of our times that Putnam never mentions or attempts to describe.

The struggle between the races cannot be a major source of the decline of social cohesion, claims Putnam, because the decline is seen in all races. Yet he admits that the civil rights movement was "aimed at destroying certain

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exclusive, nonbridging forms of social capital—racially homogeneous schools, neighborhoods, and so forth." Moreover, he says that racial integration was designed to create bridging capital (the oil between the races) through the destruction of white communities and their bonding social capital (the glue that holds people together). In the end it created residential areas which were "unrestricted on the basis of race, but with very little social interaction going on between neighbors."

"Fraternity is most natural within socially homogenous groups," Putnam tells us, admitting that the "Golden Age" for social capital (the 1950s) was a period of rampant racism and sexism, as was the Progressive Era of a half-century earlier. Yet he maintains (though seemingly without conviction) that a new dawn for bridging social capital will somehow become bonding social capital, which, in eventually uniting the races, can be built in the coming century just as it was a hundred years ago, ignoring the fact that it was white ethnic groups that had to be assimilated into an essentially European culture in the Progressive Era, not a tide of Asians, blacks, and Hispanics. Furthermore, he ignores the fact that neither the blacks nor the Jews have assimilated in the last century and a half. Indeed, the Jews have successfully resisted assimilation in every country they have resided in for over two millennia, which is why the phenomenon called Israel is back on the world scene after a substantial hiatus.

Certainly the culture of individualism described above has affected all the races. Middle class whites have abandoned their poorer compatriots by moving to the suburbs, both for reasons of class and race. Middle class blacks have also left the city or built exclusive neighborhoods within the city, largely for reasons of class. Thus the inner cities have been left leaderless and prey to criminal chaos and disorganization. Even the Jews have felt the sting of intermarriage and declining social cohesion in the face of this Zeitgeist and the declining power and threat of their racial enemies. Stripping the races of their respective racial identities may increase racial tolerance, as the book claims, but in the end it undermines social cohesion in favor of a culture of I, me, mine. The only way to restore "bonding social capital" is to create a culture in which *racial identity* can flourish, as the love of one's own kind is the real glue that holds people together.

People are drawn naturally to their own kind, but they can be prevented from bonding not only by the spirit of the times but also by economic and social inequality, or, as Putnam puts it, "Equality and fraternity are strongly *positively* correlated." He does show how income was far more evenly distributed in the 1950s than in the present, but he underplays the importance of class because according to his data, all classes have declined in social capital. Once again, he is allowing the statistics to blind him to the essential workings of a cohesive society, as if the symptoms were the cause, and fixing the symptoms were the cure. If people would just join more, then everything would be all right, he seems to be saying. But people will not join more unless the racial, cultural, and class conditions are right.

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The issue of class is far better addressed in a new work by sociologist Cynthia Duncan, *Worlds Apart: Why Poverty Persists in Rural America*, which compares and contrasts life in three very different small rural towns. One is in the deep South, the second in Appalachia, and the third in New England, and as we shall see, they are truly worlds apart.

In *Worlds Apart* Duncan describes life in these small rural towns to illustrate how crucial civic culture is in determining how things work economically, socially, and politically. All three places are real, and the power of the book comes from the words actually spoken by the residents. She has changed the names of the towns and the residents in order to protect the powerless from retribution. The first place she calls Blackwell, the second Dahlia, and the third Gray Mountain. Blackwell is located in West Virginia and represents Appalachian culture; Dahlia is in Mississippi and represents Southern culture; and Gray Mountain is located in Maine and represents the culture of New England.

Blackwell is a white mining town run by a small, rich, and mostly WASP elite that dominates a large, poor, and mostly Scots-Irish base population. The middle class is not big and serves the interests of the wealthy out of an instinct for self-preservation. Blackwell was once a company town typical of the region: in such towns a coal mining company would come in and build its own roads, housing, schools, and stores in order to avoid government interference or monitoring. The miners had to live in company housing, send their children to the company school, and shop at the company store, where prices were inflated since there was no competition. The company store was happy to issue the miners credit, for soon most were so heavily in debt that leaving the mine became unthinkable. The ordinary folk of the area have had the choice of either working in the mines or continuing in the increasingly less lucrative subsistence farming that had been the way of their ancestors, not only in Appalachia but, before their arrival in America, in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Poverty brought them to the mines and the mine owners intended to keep them there, not only through indebtedness, but by keeping alternative industry and business out of Appalachia. Coal mining and the company store are much less important now, but the culture of "us and them" remains the same.

Fear and distrust characterize life in Blackwell. The rich (rightly) distrust the motives of their fellow rich, and will not cooperate with each other even on mutually beneficial projects, since doing so might help one a bit more than another; nor do they fear the powerless poor or the emasculated middle class sufficiently to unite amongst themselves. The lower classes live tenuous lives dependent upon the good will of the ruling elite: "People around here are plain scared—they're afraid they'll be cut off from welfare, or their kids won't be picked up by the [school] bus, or won't get their free lunch or a hundred other things will happen that the courthouse crowd can do to you." Jobs go only to those who go along with the way things are, and fair play and social justice are

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not expected in the daily course of events. People expect one another to use whatever corrupt power they have for their immediate self-interest, for this is the norm: "If they decide to get rid of me, they would find somebody who would come here and say that I tried to sexually assault them. I'm ruined for life and I've done absolutely nothing. People are that way here." The leaders are capricious in their use of power and intimidation, as they are patriarchs who expect complete loyalty from those below in exchange for their meager beneficence.

This is why the union struggle in Appalachia was so violent, and why the labor movement, particularly the United Mine Workers, was ultimately corrupted to betray its members when it could not be crushed by force. In Mingo County, West Virginia, over ten thousand armed miners in the 1920s routed the murderous Pinkertons hired by the coal companies to intimidate them, and then were forced to disarm by the U.S. Army. The promises made by the federal government were never enforced against the coal capitalists. Afterwards the top leaders of the UMW were bought off; those who could not be purchased were murdered. The UMW is still considered one of the most corrupt unions in America.

The Appalachians are a people without dreams; these are snuffed out early by their stultifying way of life. The poor cannot see themselves as doctors, lawyers, or scientists. Few can imagine graduating from college or even opening their own business. If they dare to dream, people within their own class ranks ridicule them. Most have accepted their lot, and a people without self-confidence is prey to the tyranny of social embarrassment. Parents fight mentors who encourage their children to go on to university. The parents fear that college will deprive them of their children, both physically and psychologically; that the local ruling class will not welcome them back once they have degrees; and that they will see life differently once they are out of the hollows and will not want to return. Indeed, the rich do see the educated poor who return as a potential spearhead of resistance, so the only jobs they can get are through the federal government. Thus most ordinary Appalachians are fatalistic about change and progress and say, "You can't do anything about it; that's the way it is, and the way it always has been."

Mentors are few in Appalachia because people simply do not care for one another. Class identification and loyalty are strong; those of a lower class are considered unworthy of help and deemed unreliable as future allies: "Opportunities in Blackwell and Dahlia are controlled by the haves for the haves." There are few inspirational teachers in the schools because the public educational system is riddled with patronage. Those who get jobs as teachers are the timeservers who loyally work for the political administration, which is controlled behind the scenes by the wealthy. The rich, of course, send their children to private schools.

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Without hope, the leaderless poor do their best to play their roles, which makes it all too easy for the upper classes to view them as subhuman. They are ignorant—and proud of it. Encouraged by their strong religion, they know something is right if they sincerely believe it in their hearts—the facts be damned. They refuse to read, and distrust learning much as blacks do, seeing it as just part of the system that keeps them down. Their houses are untidy, their children go to school unwashed, and their yards are filled with discarded junk and garbage. They are violent in their disputes, and worst of all, they wear their dialect like a soldier's badge, so they can be identified as white trash wherever they go and whatever they might do. Little wonder that most in the middle and upper classes try to avoid them like the plague. They have become the self-fulfilling prophecy of a corrupt capitalism. Yet it does not have to be this way, as we shall see in Gray Mountain.

Before we get to Gray Mountain, however, we must visit the nightmare called Dahlia. The culture there is essentially the same as in Blackwell, but with the additional component of race, which predictably dominates every matter and question. Dahlia's population is majority black, but the power structure is all white. In fact, there are no white poor, as all the whites have been incorporated into the ruling, managerial, and merchant classes by one means or another. This is not that difficult, considering that 85 percent of blacks fall below the mean IQ of whites (a fact that of course goes unmentioned in Duncan's book), and that the poverty rate in Dahlia runs around 40 percent. A middle class barely exists in Dahlia, as most workers do not make a living wage. Whites make on average five times what blacks earn. Life is dominated by a few wealthy farmers who, due to their political influence, receive huge federal subsidies, estimated at $20 million in recent years and amounting to twice the federal money dispensed to the three thousand families on public assistance. America's middle class pays for this vast welfare to both rich and poor, but not in Dahlia's middle class—it doesn't exist.

Most blacks work as laborers for white farmers, and, as in Blackwell, the ruling class has made it difficult for other types of industry to move into Dahlia. Farm work is seasonal, so the blacks must ask the white farmers for advances to get through the rest of the year. This indebtedness ties the blacks to the farms. Whites and blacks live in separate parts of town and do not associate with one another socially. They eat in separate restaurants, drink in separate bars, and swim in separate pools. The private country club is the center of white life, since it can legally exclude blacks. The hypocrisy is palpable and the injustice obvious, but both are necessary to white survival. Nevertheless, the cynicism of the arrangement blackens the souls of the residents of Dahlia, just as the social injustice and the process of astutely attempting to ignore it or even to justify it blackens the souls of the residents of Blackwell. These are people who have no respect for truth, for it can only embody danger to their lifestyle; and in Dahlia that way of life must inevitably end—badly.

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Black politicians are already being elected to office in Dahlia, and some have been appointed to federal or state boards, in recognition of the black electoral majority. To date these have been "Uncle Toms," those willing to serve the white political will, but both whites and blacks sense that things are changing and that eventually the weight of demographics will tell. Just as American inner cities controlled by black mayors, black police, black judges, and black juries are hostile places for whites, once the wheel turns, Dahlia will become hell on earth for whites.

The valley in Maine where the town of Gray Mountain is located was originally settled by English small farmers blessedly unaccompanied by landed gentry or capitalists. These men did not engage only in subsistence farming; rather they "arrived with diverse handicraft skills, a commitment to providing schooling for their children and little more than the clothes on their backs," according to a local historian. They supplemented their farming with woodwork, milling, and boat-building and engaged in business and trade from the beginning. Later came the Petersons, a WASP family which established a large paper mill in the town. The mill and its offshoots eventually attracted those looking for work, mostly Catholics, but some Scandinavians and Russians as well. First came the French Canadians, then the Irish, and then the Italians. Except for a few Jews, Gray Mountain remains a predominantly white gentile community.

Despite the religious and ethnic mix, the Peterson family demonstrated a paternalism toward its workers that survived even the bitter unionization struggle of the early twentieth century; it was committed from the beginning to providing both recreation and education for the ordinary people of the mill town. "The Peterson family wanted to make the community rich culturally, in part for their own enjoyment, in part to attract and retain the engineers they needed to work in research and development at the mill, and in part from a sense of obligation." The real test came when the United Mine Workers union successfully unionized the plant, despite the virulent objections of the owners. Nevertheless, the contest was played largely according to the rules of fair play, and there was no violence. Eventually, the workers became convinced of the corruption of the UMW and switched to another union. When the Great Depression came the owners refused to lay off workers, and the mill was lucky to survive. Later the company worked with local leaders to encourage new business to come to the area, and a flourishing, widely based tourist industry was born—encouraged by local writers who described the locals as friendly, moral, and enjoying a healthy outdoor life. Local color writers in Appalachia, on the other hand, painted the people of the hollows as "quaint and peculiar."

Each ethnic group in Gray Mountain initially established its own fraternal organizations, but far from acting as a hindrance to assimilation into the culture of the community, these lodges actually provided real services that helped the members get on their feet and become established. Once they were

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doing well the immigrants voluntarily submerged themselves into the social fabric. Even now, the accepting and welcoming nature of the place allows those who moved there in the 1970s to feel as if it is their home—something that just does not happen in the South.

In Gray Mountain income is much more evenly distributed than in Blackwell or Dahlia, with only about 15 percent falling below the poverty line. There is little sense of class. The middle class is large and consists mostly of workers and small business owners. "Those with good steady jobs see the poor as people who are having a hard time—as the bottom of a continuum rather than another continuum. They are part of us, so it is not 'us and them.' " In Blackwell poor families are seen as genetically unfit, and the biologically stupid and lazy deserve whatever fate befalls them. In Gray Mountain, the middle class worker knows he can get laid off, and the small business owner knows his venture can fail, so the poor are seen as unlucky and awaiting an opportunity, rather than as inherently inferior. "People are either General Paper, the union people, who make a decent wage or they're working-class people who make a rotten wage—that's the only class distinction. . . . That's one nice thing about the town, that there doesn't seem to be any class-level distinctions. Most of the people who live here feel that they're part of the community."

The poor in Gray Mountain act as they are treated. They are not socially disconnected—they know what society expects from them in terms of language and behavior, and they conform, because they are not disaffected. Moreover, their families are not discriminated against, so they have ordinary connections that can eventually lead to jobs. Further, they know that people will try to help them. Mentors will guide them to educational and training programs to help get them on their feet or get a degree. Inspirational teachers in the schools encourage and guide those with talent, knowing they will not have to encounter the resistance of their families. Maximizing education is seen as a good thing—not a threat. The children dream and their teachers and mentors encourage them to follow their dreams. Rich and poor go to the same schools, and though there is a fast track for the academic elite, there is no social stratification in the schools. The children of the rich play and socialize with the children of the poor.

"Mutual trust and a lack of guile" characterize life in Gray Mountain. People speak plainly and directly and lack the polite facade that one so often sees in the South—a face to mask the Machiavellian mind behind it. The leaders of Gray Mountain have a sense of responsibility to the community as a whole, and things happen through participation rather than by dictate backed by intimidation. The fear and tension that pervade life in so much of the South does not exist in Gray Mountain. The souls of these Americans are not darkened by a cultural regime of dishonesty, hypocrisy, and cynicism. Working class life in this rural valley of Maine is hard, and not rich—but it is just, and that is why most there are committed to the common good.

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What, then, does this new sociological research mean for the white nationalist movement, and what are its applications for our political work?

Cynthia Duncan admits her debt to Robert Putnam's earlier book, *Making Democracy Work*, in which he compares civic culture in northern and southern Italy, much as she compares culture in the North and the South of the United States. Putnam concluded that both democracy and economic development thrived in the Italian north, where social relations were horizontal such that widespread participation in various kinds of associations developed the trust and habit of cooperation that led directly to citizen involvement in government and to economic prosperity. In southern Italy, relations were vertical as rich landowners dominated the political and social scene, dispensing patronage and stifling the growth of a large middle class. In northern Italy, government operated for the general welfare, but in the south the wealthy exploited their control of the government to maintain and extend the power of their families, so the rich became richer and the poor became poorer. Ominously, Putnam concluded that the historical roots of modern civic culture in Italy were established in medieval times.

If Putnam is right, then we may have to look at social relations in Scotland and Northern Ireland hundreds of years ago to understand the conundrum of Southern and Appalachian civic culture. And we must look to the Puritan movement and the nineteenth century European nationalist and socialist movements of the French, Irish, Scandinavians, and Italians who followed the English into New England to understand its civic culture.

Duncan attributes the success of Gray Mountain to

> The Peterson family's early paternalism combined with resilient ethnic and religious social organizations, and later a strong union, established a vibrant and inclusive culture in Gray Mountain. Economic diversity, employment stability and worker participation have created a community characterized by integration rather than segregation, trust rather than suspicion, public investment rather than self gain. These patterns of equality, inclusive, participatory governance, and community investment have continued into the 1990s.

No doubt these patterns will continue because the Petersons came from a genuinely cooperative and paternalistic culture that existed in New England from the days of the Mayflower; because the area became economically diverse due to the original settlers' inclination to establish their own small businesses; and because the immigrants who followed were imbued with the nationalist and socialist ideals of revolutionary Europe. But the Scots-Irish who settled the South brought their Highlander-Lowlander struggle with them, along with the conflict between the mostly English landed gentry and the mostly Celtic impoverished peasantry whom the English gentry had dominated and exploited for many centuries.

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As nationalists this presents us with a problem and perhaps with an opportunity: In which culture should we be attempting to build a political base at this time in history? It would seem from the success of Huey Long, and David Duke, plus the armed revolutionary resistance of the coal miners of Appalachia, that the uncivic culture is where to apply our very limited resources. But each of these movements failed for exactly the same reason—the lack of a solid revolutionary organization with large numbers of well-trained cadre. Many blame Duke for his lack of organizational ability, but even a good organizer like Huey Long found his task daunting: the numbers of quality people outside the satisfied upper classes are just too small in an anti-civic society. Yet it is too difficult to establish a revolutionary political base in a civic culture in pre-revolutionary times, as the people are loyal to their uncorrupted leadership and want to cooperate with it for the greater good.

The answer may be to build an organization in the South that would provide the funds and fame to springboard the movement into the North as opportunities develop there. This Senator Huey Long of Louisiana attempted in 1934, when he announced on national radio his nationwide program to establish local Share the Wealth clubs. These groups were to be the base of a new national political party that would run Long against Franklin Roosevelt for the presidency of the United States in 1936. His radio appeal received a tremendous response, causing Roosevelt to tag Long as the most dangerous man in America, and in September of 1935 Huey was assassinated. His Louisiana political structure fell apart for lack of effective leadership, and the collapse brought down the Share the Wealth movement with it.

In *Bowling Alone***,** Putnam displays graph after graph with social capital on one axis, and a myriad of different things on the other axis such as crime, equality of income distribution, educational achievement, and measures of child welfare. On these graphs the states with the highest black populations inevitably fare worse than those with few blacks, with two exceptions: the states of Nevada and West Virginia, which are both essentially white.

The economy of Nevada was built by the Mafia, and the state is still dominated by organized crime, despite the federal government's claims to the contrary. Recognizing the threat of the Mafia to nationalism, Mussolini made its destruction in southern Italy one of his top priorities in the early 1920s. The Mafia was successfully driven from Italy only to find a welcome home in the United States, and ironically the American army re-established the crime czars in Sicily in 1943, since it trusted neither the Fascist administration nor the Communist resistance. Neither Fascists nor Communists spoke the language of America—money. The Mob, on the other hand, could be trusted to do what it was paid to do, and its influence plagues Italy at the highest levels even today. And not just Italy. Organized crime can only thrive in a land where corrupt police, lawyers, judges, and politicians offer their protection and services. This

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is why America has been a paradise for organized crime. Mao and Mussolini developed the only possible solution to handling this enormous hindrance to nationalism—elimination of both the criminals and those who served them.

West Virginia, on the other hand, has remarkably little crime, organized or otherwise, and it demonstrates that civic culture is just as important as race in determining how nationalistic a social order can become. There are certain essentials to building a cooperative society, with race the most important, but not the only, factor. The sociologist C. Wright Mills found that small business and wide ownership in American communities equated to greater civic welfare. Other sociologists have concluded from their studies that those countries with lots of small landholders rather than a few large landlords were more likely to develop democratic political systems when they industrialized. A large middle class is key to the formation of civic culture, and though not all civic culture is nationalist, a wide-based democratic nationalism rooted in the support of the people can only exist where there is civic culture. To be sure, there is a fundamental difference between the nationalist golden rule of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you, and the capitalist golden rule; and here I do not mean do unto others before they do unto you, as goes the current saying, but rather capitalist philosopher David Hume's famous scenario:

> Your corn is ripe to-day; mine will be so to-morrow. 'Tis profitable for us both, that I should labour with you to-day, and that you shou'd aid me to-morrow. I have no kindness for you, and you know you have as little for me. I will not therefore take any pains upon your account; and should I labour with you upon my own account, in expectation of a return, I know I shou'd be disappointed, and that I should in vain depend upon your gratitude. Here then I leave you to labour alone; you treat me in the same manner. The seasons change; and both of us lose our harvests for want of mutual confidence.

Presumably if Hume's neighbor lost his leg in a farm accident, Hume would not help him in his harvest, or if he had already helped him and the stricken neighbor could not perform in return, Hume would go to his neighbor's house and take property of equal value from it in "just" compensation. Little wonder that the Anglo-Saxon capitalist states are the most litigious in the world. This is a very calculating, cold-blooded society the capitalists have created, despite the fact that most people do not wish to live this way—and actually do not live this way in small communities. Putnam contends that this capitalist ethic should be changed to: "I'll do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road." Yes, this is better, but nationalists are warm-blooded and love their own kind, and better yet is Marcus Aurelius's notion that doing that right thing is its own reward, and none other should be expected. Let the love of our people guide us as to right and wrong, and the appropriate service and sacrifice will arise naturally to keep our race united and strong.

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In light of the above, what is the right thing for nationalist activists to do right now? The key is that small is good—small schools work better than large schools, small businesses are more manageable and efficient than large businesses, and small communities work better than large communities because responsibility for running clubs, associations, and operations is widely spread and most everybody is expected to participate. Get into a small community and sink local roots by joining the PTA if you have a child in school, or coach a youth soccer team, or join the Rotary or one of the myriad other community service organizations. Here you can have a real impact on real people who will come to respect you. Do not get overextended, but rather do a good job in each organization you join. You will find that soon you will be leading the association. Later you may turn this cache into votes when you or another you support run for a small local office and you build politically from there.

In *The Rise and Decline of Nations*, economist Mançur Olson tells us that elites destroy their nations over time by aggressively pursuing policies to concentrate more and more wealth and power in their own hands, which restricts competition and undermines economic efficiency. Putnam and Duncan describe the social consequences of the same process, concluding that where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer the unity necessary for cooperation is undermined and economic prosperity ultimately fades. In Britain and in America, the increasing concentration of wealth has proceeded apace since the end of the Second World War, and this must inevitably present us with political opportunities. We must be prepared to exploit them, since whichever side does this best when the crash finally comes will be the creator of the next era in human history. We must always remember that most people do not wish to live in the cutthroat manner of capitalism, and that only we offer a warm-blooded, human alternative.

Frank Martell is a Pennsylvania-based social critic and freelance writer.

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Henry Ford and the Jewish Question

Henry Ford and the Jews:
The Mass Production of Hate
Neil Baldwin
New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2001
$27.50

416 pp.

The International Jew:
The World's Foremost Problem
Henry Ford

Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Independent, 1920–1921

Reviewed By Kevin MacDonald

The first part of Henry Ford and the Jewish Question (Part I: The Education of a Midwestern Industrialist) appeared in the Fall issue of ***The Occidental Quarterly*** *(Vol. 2, No. 3) and assessed the issues raised in Neil Baldwin's* ***Henry Ford and the Jews****. Part two examines the actual writings of Henry Ford, which first appeared in* ***The Dearborn Independent*** *from 1920 to 1921.*

Part II: The *Dearborn Independent* Series in Perspective

So what is one to make of Henry Ford's series of writings on Jews? *The International Jew (TIJ)* is an amalgam of dark speculations on Jewish conspiracy combined with some interesting and, on the whole, accurate information on Jews and perceptions of Jews during the period. The weekly articles, which were compiled into a four-volume book version that was never copyrighted and has thus been in the public domain for over eighty years, merit a fair and accurate summary.

Jewish Economic Influence

The general view of *TIJ* is that Jews have achieved a great deal of economic, political, and cultural domination in the U.S. and European societies. At times, *TIJ* writes as though the United States economy was completely dominated by

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Jews: "In America alone most of the big business, the trusts and the banks, the natural resources and the chief agricultural products, especially tobacco, cotton and sugar, are in the control of Jewish financiers or their agents" (5/22/1920). This undoubtedly exaggerated view of the overarching power of Jewish finance contrasts with discussions of a great many areas describing the extent to which Jews control specific areas of the economy and culture. A later article (6/05/1920) claims several other important industries are under Jewish control in the U.S.: the motion picture industry, 50% of the meat packing industry, "upwards of 60% of the shoemaking industry," the clothing industry, distribution and selling of music, jewelry, grain, the Colorado smelting industry, magazine writing, news distribution, the liquor business, and the loan business, "only to name the industries with national and international sweep."

While overly inclined to see Jewish domination of the U.S. economy resulting from Jewish overrepresentation in investment banking, *TIJ* was essentially correct when it pointed to particular industries that were dominated by Jews. Data from the 1930s indicated that Jews had disproportionate influence in retailing, the garment industry, cosmetics, entertainment, mass media and publishing, investment banking, and the professions (Editors of *Fortune* 1936; Sachar 1992, 341). All of these, with the exception of Jewish involvement in the professions, were foci of *TIJ*, although *TIJ* did discuss Jewish influence in journalism and the academic world, particularly economics. *TIJ* is careful to distinguish between investment banking, where Jews had a very strong position, from retail banking, where they did not—a distinction also noted by Editors of *Fortune* (1936).

All of these industries are given detailed treatment in various places in *TIJ* (e.g., the liquor business was the focus of three articles appearing in late 1921). In general, *TIJ* takes a balanced, nuanced approach to Jewish influence in particular areas. For example, in the financial area, *TIJ* describes a conflict between a nascent Jewish group and a non-Jewish group bent on preventing Jewish influence. "At one time [Jewish influence] threatened to be [paramount], but American financiers have always been silently aware of the International Jewish Financier, and have endeavored quietly to block his game" (11/13/1920). However, while presently thwarted, *TIJ* notes that Jewish influence on the stock exchange is increasing rapidly because Jews are willing to pay the highest prices for seats on the New York Stock Exchange as they become available, and no Jew ever sells his seat to a non-Jew.

> One outstanding characteristic of the Jewish race is its persistence. What it cannot attain this generation, it will attain next. Defeat it today, it does not remain defeated; its conquerors die, but Jewry goes on, never forgetting, never deviating from its ancient aim of world control in one form or another (11/13/1920).

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TIJ gives figures for Jewish membership of the NYSE as 60/1,009 in 1872, rising to 106 in 1893 and to 276 in 1919. Jewish control "is struggling to go higher, but has thus far been stopped" (11/13/1920).

Noting the importance of the theater as part of the plan outlined in the *Protocols*, *TIJ* provides detailed accounts in a series of five articles on Jewish domination of the theater and motion picture industry.

> Not only the "legitimate" stage, so-called, but the motion picture industry—the fifth greatest of all the great industries—is also Jew-controlled, not in spots only, not 50 per cent merely, but entirely; with the natural consequence that the world is in arms against the trivializing and demoralizing influences of that form of entertainment as at present managed. As soon as the Jew got control of American Liquor, we had a liquor problem with drastic consequences. As soon as the Jew gained control of the "movies," we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are not yet visible. It is the genius of the race to create problems in whatever business they achieve a majority. . . . Millions of Americans every day place themselves voluntarily within range of Jewish ideas of life, love and labor; within range of Jewish propaganda, sometimes cleverly, sometimes cunningly concealed (1/01/1921). Frivolity, sensuality, indecency, appalling illiteracy and endless platitude are the marks of the American State as it approaches its degeneracy under Jewish control (1/01/1920).

TIJ claims that Jewish producers stage plays that provide positive images of Jews and that most of these are not successful despite massive publicity and endorsement by public officialdom. *Ben Hur* is given as a prominent exception, its nineteen-year run explained by the fact that "it is the most successful of all the vehicles for pro-Semitism now on the stage" (1/08/1921).

TIJ describes the rise during the 1890s of the Jewish-dominated Theatrical Trust, which eclipsed the previous non-Jewish theatrical producers and agents. *TIJ* states that the Theatrical Trust blacklisted critics who "opposed its methods or pointed out the inferior, coarse and degrading character of the Trust productions." *TIJ* claims that critics were fired by newspapers threatened by the Trust with loss of advertising revenue (1/08/1921). In turn, the Theatrical Trust became overshadowed by another Jewish company run by the Shubert family (1/22/1921).

Regarding the movies, *TIJ* reports that 90% of the production is in the hands of a few large companies, 85% of which "are in the hands of Jews" (2/12/1921). The article appearing on 2/19/1921 discusses the Jews behind the major motion picture companies of the era, going over much the same information as presented in Neal Gabler's (1988) *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*. *TIJ* is careful to note that its concerns with the moral messages in movies are not idiosyncratic but part of a larger *Kulturkampf* between the movie industry and large segments of the American public: "In almost every state there are movie censorship bills pending, with the old 'wet' and gambling elements against them, and the awakened part of the decent population in favor of them; always, the Jewish producing firms constituting the silent

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pressure behind the opposition" (2/12/1921). Indeed, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, headed by Will H. Hays, was created in 1922 in response to movements in over thirty state legislatures to enact strict censorship laws, and the Production Code Administration, headed by Joseph I. Breen, was launched in response to a campaign by the Catholic Legion of Decency (Gabler, 1988). *TIJ*'s reservations about the moral content of movies were indeed widely shared among the American public.

TIJ attributes the moral sensibility of the movie industry to the fact that it is dominated by Jews—the contrast between the "Oriental ideal" for culture and the "Anglo-Saxon, the American ideal." The Oriental ideal is "'If you can't go as far as you like, go as far as you can.' It gravitates naturally to the flesh and its exposure; its natural psychic habitat is among the more sensual emotions." According to *TIJ*,

> Here lies the whole secret of the movies' moral failure: they are not American and their producers are racially unqualified to reproduce the American atmosphere. An influence which is racially, morally and idealistically foreign to America, has been given the powerful projecting force of the motion picture business, and the consequences are what we see (2/12/1921).

However, *TIJ* notes that to advocate censorship is construed as anti-Semitism: "Reader, beware! if you so much as resent the filth of the mass of the movies, you will fall under the judgment of anti-Semitism" (2/12/1921).

TIJ claims that the movies are biased in favor of Judaism and against Christianity. *TIJ* quotes from a letter from a non-Jewish movie production company submitted during Congressional hearings, stating that Christian plays, such as *Life of the Savior,* have not been produced in order not to offend Jewish sensibilities (2/12/1921).

> You never see a Jewish rabbi depicted on the screen in any but a most honorable attitude. He is clothed with all the dignity of the office and he is made as impressive as can be. Christian clergymen, as any movie fan will readily recall, were subjected to all sorts of misrepresentations, from the comic to the criminal. Now, this attitude is distinctly Jewish. Like many unlabeled influences in our life, whose sources lead back to Jewish groups, the object is to break down as far as possible all respectful or considerate thought about the clergy. The Catholic clergy very soon made themselves felt in opposition to this abuse of their priestly dignity. You never see a priest made light of on the screen. But the Protestant clergyman is still the elongated, sniveling, bilious hypocrite of anti-Christian caricature.... You may not depict a Hebrew as owner of a sweatshop—though all sweatshop owners are Hebrews; but you may make a Christian clergyman everything from a seducer to a safe-cracker and get away with it.

TIJ quotes a movie poster of the period: "'I refuse to live with you any longer. I denounce you as my wife—I will go to HER—my free-lover.' Thus speaks the Rev. Frank Gordon in the greatest of all free-love dramas" (2/19/1921). *TIJ* then notes pointedly but tentatively, "There may be no connection whatever, but behold what is done, and remembering what is written in the Protocols, a

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question arises. It is written: 'We have misled, stupefied and demoralized the youth of the Gentiles by means of education in principles and theories, patently false to us, but which we have inspired.' Protocol 9 'We have taken good care long ago to discredit the Gentile clergy' Protocol 17 (2/19/1921). This typifies the manner in which *TIJ* refers to the *Protocols* (see also below): Actual events that can be reasonably shown to be due to Jewish influence are shown to fit with the conspiratorial master plan outlined in the Protocols. Despite the paranoid logic, the assertions of *TIJ* are congruent with recent studies indicating that Jews remain in control of the movie industry and that the movies generally portray Christians and Christianity negatively and Jews and Judaism positively (e.g., Medved, 1992/1993; MacDonald, 2002).

Finally, there is little doubt that *TIJ* is correct in its assessment that Jews dominated the music industry in the U.S. As Kenneth Kanter notes:

> Both as a business and as an expression of talent and creative artistry, American popular music was in large part shaped and formed by Jews, many of them immigrant newcomers to the American scene. . . . Virtually all the great names that come to mind when one considers popular music—Rogers and Hammerstein, Irving Berlin, Lorenz Hart, Jerome Kern, George and Ira Gershwin, Irving Caesar, and Charles Harris, for instance, are Jewish names. Jews wrote the songs, Jews sang the songs, and Jews made sure that the songs were circulated to every corner of the country, for they founded and built America's publishing industry. Among the vanguard publishers were M. Witmark, Charles K. Harris, Joseph Stern, Shapiro and Bernstein, Harry von Tilzer, Leo Feist, T. B. Harms, and Irving Berlin [born Israel Baline]. Collectively their publishing firms came to be known as "Tin Pan Alley" . . . . It was the Tin Pan Alley ethos, combining the commercial with the aesthetic, that gave our popular music its distinctive character (Kanter, 1982, p. ix).

Jewish Political Activism Aimed at Shaping the United States

Besides the cultural influences described above, TIJ devotes a great deal of attention to the Jewish political campaigns against public expressions of Christianity and for official recognition of the Jewish religion (e.g., recognizing Jewish holidays). "The St. Louis Charity Fair in 1908 planned to remain open on Friday evening; a great outcry; did the managers of that fair mean to insult the Jews; didn't they know that the Jewish Sabbath began on Friday night?" (6/04/1921). TIJ presents a history of Jewish activism against public expressions of Christianity based on Kehillah records, beginning with an attempt in 1899–1900 to remove the word "Christian" from the Virginia Bill of Rights and culminating in 1919–1920:

> In this year the Kehillah was so successful in its New York campaign that it was possible for a Jewish advertiser in New York to say that he wanted Jewish help, but it was not possible for a non-Jewish advertiser to state his non-Jewish preference. This is a sidelight both on Jewish reasonableness and Jewish power (3/12/1920).

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> The Jews' interference with the religion of the others, and the Jews' determination to wipe out of public life every sign of the predominant Christian character of the United States is the only active form of religious intolerance in the country today (3/21/1920).

Another aspect of Jewish power during the period was the ability to prevent public discussion of Jewish issues as such—an important source of Jewish power with continuing relevance in contemporary times (MacDonald, 2002; Sobran, 1996).

> There is a vague feeling that even to openly use the word "Jew," or to expose it nakedly to print, is somehow improper. . . . There is extreme sensitiveness about the public discussion of the Jewish Question on the part of Gentiles. They would prefer to keep it in the hazy borderlands of their thought, shrouded in silence. . . . The principal public Gentile pronouncements upon the Jewish Question are in the manner of the truckling politician or the pleasant after-dinner speaker; the great Jewish names in philosophy, medicine, literature, music and finance are named over, the energy, ability and thrift of the race are dwelt upon, and everyone goes home feeling that a difficult place has been rather neatly negotiated (6/12/1920).

> Anyone who essays to discuss the Jewish Question in the United States or anywhere else must be fully prepared to be regarded as an Anti-Semite, in high-brow language, or in low-brow language, a Jew-baiter. . . . The press in general is open at this time to fulsome editorials in favor of everything Jewish . . . while the Jewish press, which is fairly numerous in the United States, takes care of the vituperative end (6/19/1920).

According to *TIJ*, Jews have succeeded in engaging in ethnic warfare without either side publicly acknowledging that there is indeed a war: "Yes, let it be agreed; if the Jewish idea is the stronger, if the Jewish ability is the greater, let them conquer; let the Anglo-Saxon principles and Anglo-Saxon power go down in ruins before the Tribe of Judah. *But first let the two ideas struggle under their own banners; let it be a fair struggle*" (5/21/1921; emphasis in *TIJ*).

Based on pronouncements of Jewish organizations and intellectuals, *TIJ* makes the important point that Jews promote "one of the dangerous doctrines being preached today," that

> the United States is not any definite thing as yet, but that it is yet to be made, and it is still the prey of whatever power can seize it and mold it to its liking. It is a favorite Jewish view that the United States is a great unshapen mass of potentiality, of no particular character which is yet to be given its definite form. . . . We are not making Americans; we are permitting foreigners to be educated in the theory that America is a free-for-all, the prize of whatever fantastic foreign political theory may seize it (3/05/1921).

This comment on Jewish attitudes fits well with a great deal of evidence that Jews have consistently opposed the notion that the U.S. has any ethnic overtones or that it is a European or Christian civilization (MacDonald, 1998/

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2002, Ch. 7). *TIJ* also cites a tendency for Jews to be very enthusiastic about the U.S. because of the potential of the U.S. to serve Jewish interests. As Zionist activist Israel Zangwill noted, "Next to being in a country of their own, there could be no better fate for [Eastern European Jews] than to be together in a land of civil and religious liberty, of whose Constitution Christianity forms no part and where their collective votes would practically guarantee them against future persecution" (in Ross 1914, 144).

A critical component of Jewish attempts to change the U.S. in conformity with Jewish interests is advocacy of unrestricted immigration. *TIJ* was well aware that Jewish groups were the main force advocating unrestricted immigration to the U.S. The article for March 5, 1921, claims that one part of the Jewish program for America is unrestricted Jewish immigration from any part of the world—a comment that fits well with the findings of other scholars (MacDonald, 2002; Neuringer, 1980). "American Jews have never cared what kind of human riffraff filled the country as long as the Jewish flood was not hindered" (3/21/1921). *TIJ* notes that the Kehillah yearbook for 1913–1914 stated that the energy of Jewish activists was focused on "preventing the United States from changing the immigration laws in a manner to protect the country from undesirable aliens" (3/21/1920). An important technique in opposition to restrictive immigration laws was organizing mass meetings in large cities. *TIJ* states that the Kehillah is able to organize mass meetings "on a day's notice" in all the major U.S. cities. "It was by Mass Meetings that Congress was coerced into breaking off our commercial treaty with Russia. It was by Mass Meetings that the literacy test [as a criterion for immigration] was defeated. It was by Mass Meetings that every attempt to restrict immigration has been defeated" (3/19/1921).

TIJ places a great deal of emphasis on Jewish power in the media as a tool of Jewish political activism. *TIJ* recounts an incident when a professor returned from Russia with a magazine article on the Jewish question in that country. The editor was "deeply impressed with all he learned—but said he could not print the article. The same interest and examination occurred with other magazine editors of the first rank" (6/26/1920). Although Jews had made strides in ownership of the press during this period, *TIJ* states that ownership of the press is not critical because Jews are able to exert pressure by withholding advertising. A newspaper that reprinted an excerpt of an article on Jews from the *Dearborn Independent* lost a number of Jewish advertising accounts the next day (9/11/1920).

TIJ also presents an interesting account of resistance to Jewish pressure by James Gordon Bennett, a non-Jew who owned the *New York Herald*, the most prestigious newspaper in the city, until he died in 1918. According to *TIJ*, the Jewish owners of department stores threatened the city's newspapers with loss of advertising if they failed to back a Jewish candidate for mayor. Bennett published the threatening letter and managed to survive the loss of Jewish

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advertising. Despite Bennett's victory, Jewish power in journalism increased in New York. The *Herald* died with Bennett, and "Adolph S. Ochs, a Philadelphia Jew, acquired the [*New York*] *Times.* He soon made it into a great newspaper, but one whose bias is to serve the Jews" (2/05/1921). In fact, this assessment of the *New York Times* is quite reasonable (see discussion in MacDonald 2002).

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also receives some attention from *TIJ*. The ADL is portrayed as organizing boycotts to achieve its ends, often through its ability to control advertising in newspapers placed by Jewish department store owners. The ADL pressures newspapers to remove negative references to people identified as Jews. This pressure has resulted in Jews with negative press being referred to as Russians or as Englishmen, but never as Jews (3/19/1921; 7/03/1920). *TIJ* also points to a double standard in this regard: "A Jewish paper may shriek to the skies that Professor So-and-So, or Judge So-and-So, or Senator So-and-So is a Jew; but the secular newspaper that should do that would be visited by an indignant committee bearing threats" (9/11/1920). *TIJ* also reports that in 1919, the ADL claimed success in getting 150 U.S. cities to exclude *The Merchant of Venice* from public schools.

Jewish Influence on Foreign Policy

TIJ describes in some detail the 1911 Jewish campaign to abrogate the Russian trade agreement. *TIJ* was partly motivated out of pique at former President Taft, who was president at the time of the abrogation and who had been recruited by the ADL to denounce *TIJ*. On November 1, 1920, Taft released his statement condemning *TIJ* "as a foolish pronouncement" (1/15/21). *TIJ*'s account of Taft's role in the abrogation of the Russian trade agreement agrees with other accounts of the events but adds some interesting personal details. The source of the problem was that the Russian government restricted the freedom of its Jewish citizens to travel and settle within Russia to the so-called Pale of Settlement, an area in Western Russia with a large Jewish population that had been annexed by Russia from Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. (Jews had traditionally been banned from Russia.) Some Jews were getting around these laws by going to the U.S., becoming naturalized citizens, and then returning to Russia as U.S. citizens. Russia regarded this as a subterfuge. It continued to view these people as subject to its travel and residence restrictions. The Jewish campaign favored formulations in which the problem was couched as a general *American* problem rather than as a specific problem for American Jews. But the difficulties for American Jews were only a pretext for a larger campaign directed at exerting pressure on Russia to end the Pale of Settlement and thereby change the status of Russian Jews.

A delegation of prominent American Jews, including Jacob Schiff, visited President Taft to discuss this issue as well as the use of literacy tests for immigrants—another important Jewish concern. Taft rebuffed the Jewish

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delegation on the trade embargo issue, basing his decision on his interpretation of the best interests of the United States, and he also presented the Jewish delegation with a letter from the U.S. Ambassador in Russia giving the Russian point of view on their Jewish subjects and the need to restrict their movements. *TIJ* does not discuss the contents of this letter, but the official Russian view was that emancipation had resulted in Jews economically dominating and exploiting the Slavic peasants (Judge 1992, 9, 11); Jews in Russia "were viewed by the authorities and by much of the rest of population as a foreign, separate, exploitative, and distressingly prolific nation" (Lindemann 1991, 17).

Taft's behavior angered the Jewish delegation and particularly Jacob Schiff, who refused to shake the President's hand. The American Jewish Committee began an intense campaign that resulted in victory when, a mere 10 months later, "both houses of Congress ordered President Taft to notify Russia that the treaty with Russia would be terminated. . . . Whether this had anything to do with the fact that William Howard Taft became that unusual figure—a one-term President—this chronicle does not undertake to say" (1/15/1921).

TIJ also presents an interesting account of various descriptions of the anti-Jewish actions in Poland in 1919. The article of November 6, 1920 compares several accounts of the situation in Poland and notes that a very pro-Jewish account by Sir Stuart Samuel, the Jewish head of the British mission to Poland, was widely publicized, including being placed as advertisements in newspapers. On the other hand, accounts by Henry Morgenthau Sr. (also Jewish, and former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey) and Captain P. Wright (a member of the British mission to Poland) that were less flattering to Jews disappeared from public awareness to the point that copies of them were difficult to obtain.

TIJ emphasizes Jewish sympathy for communism as an important issue in Polish anti-Semitism: "Whenever Bolshevik Red armies swept across Poland, the Jews met them with welcomes. This is no longer denied, even in the United States: it is explained by the statement that the Bolsheviki are more friendly to the Jews than are the Poles" (11/06/1921). The report by Wright emphasized the successful Jewish demands for group political and legal rights at the Versailles Peace Conference:

> If the Jews of England—after multiplying their numbers by twenty or thirty—demanded that the Jewish Board of Guardians should have extensive powers, including the right to tax for purposes of emigration, and that a separate number of seats should be set aside in the London County Council, the Manchester Town Council, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, to be occupied only by Jews chosen by Jews; that the president of the board of education should hand over yearly to the Jews sums proportionate to their numbers; if some were to demand the right to have separate Jewish law courts, or at least to be allowed to use Yiddish as well as English in the King's Bench and Chancery Division; if the

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> most advanced even looked forward to a time when Bank of England notes were to be printed in Yiddish as well as in English, then they might well find public opinion, even in England, less well disposed to them.

TIJ notes the large degree of Jewish influence on Woodrow Wilson: "They formed a solid ring around him." Commenting on the special access to Wilson held by the Jewish journalist David Lawrence, *TIJ* states, "There was a time when he communicated to the country through no one but a Jew" (12/04/1920). *TIJ* provides examples of Jews who were involved in corruption during W.W. I, attributing the crimes to the immense power of Jewish financier Bernard Baruch, who controlled the War Industries Board.

TIJ states that Simon Wolf, a Jewish lobbyist in Washington, suggested that a Jew be appointed ambassador to Spain "to show Spain that the United States does not approve Spain's act of expulsion back in the fifteenth century. Jews are also suggesting to President Harding that a Jew be appointed Ambassador to Germany to rebuke the Germans' resentment against Jewish control of finance, industry and politics" (3/19/1921). The request for a Jewish ambassador to Spain to protest the expulsion of 1492 is truly remarkable but not at all surprising. It is yet another indication of the intensity and persistence of Jewish memories of anti-Semitism (MacDonald 1998a, Ch. 6; 2002). *TIJ* also claims that American and British Jews with a Zionist agenda are crowding diplomatic posts in the Middle East, "so that the whole mid-Orient is now under Jewish control, and the Mohammedan World is given to understand that the Jews are merely coming back from their conquest of the white races" (3/19/1921).

All of this paints a picture of enormous Jewish power during this period. However, the limits of Jewish power at the time were also apparent, particularly in the battle over immigration. Unlike the abrogation of the Russian Trade Agreement, immigration aroused intense passions among non-Jews as well, and Jews were on the losing side in the immigration restriction legislation of 1921 and 1924. It was not until 1965 that this immigration policy was overturned despite continued intense Jewish pressure on this issue over the ensuing decades (MacDonald, 1998b, Ch. 7).

Are Jews a Race?

TIJ takes the view that Jews are a race and understand themselves to be a race but have successfully lobbied to ensure that public references to Judaism refer to it as a religion. (The *TIJ* usage of the term "race" reflects the fact that during this period there was no distinction between the major human races and small descent groups, the latter termed "ethnic groups" in today's parlance.) In 1909, Jews successfully pressured Congress to reject a recommendation of the U.S. Census Bureau to have the category of "Jew" for recording immigrants. Jewish lobbyists insisted that Jews were a religion, not a race, despite heated arguments to the contrary by U.S. Senators, including

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prominent immigration restrictionist Henry Cabot Lodge. As a result, "there are 46 other classifications [of racial/ethnic groups], but none for the Jew," and *TIJ* quotes a government report stating that classification "by race or people . . . is acceptable to the people of the United States *with one exception*" (10/09/1920; emphasis in *TIJ*).

TIJ notes that "at least one indication has appeared in which the Jew has one view to present to the Gentiles, and another which he cherishes among his own people, on this question of Race," i.e., that Jews view themselves as a race but wish non-Jews to regard them only as a religion (10/09/1920). To buttress its claims that Jews are a race—a view that agrees with the results of modern studies of population genetics (MacDonald 2002, Ch. 2), *TIJ* cites comments from a number of Jewish scholars and prominent Jews. It quotes a Jewish scholar, Leon Simon, who claimed, "The idea that Jews are a religious sect, precisely parallel to Catholics and Protestants, is nonsense" (10/16/1920). *TIJ* also quotes the influential proto-Zionist theorist, Moses Hess, that the Jew "belongs to a race; he belongs to a nation; he seeks a kingdom to come on this earth, a kingdom which shall be over all kingdoms, with Jerusalem the ruling city of the world" (10/16/1920). (Given the abundant signs of "the rise of the Jews," to use Lindemann's [1998] phrase, it must have seemed ominous to *TIJ* to be reminded of the prediction of Jewish world supremacy contained not only in ancient Jewish religious writings but also repeated by an influential Jewish intellectual of the modern era.) In the same passage, *TIJ* also quotes Supreme Court Justice and Zionist Louis Brandeis that "the percentage of foreign blood in the Jews of today is very low. Probably no important European race is as pure." *TIJ* also cites Jewish scholar Israel Friedlander's statement that the Jewish idea of racial purity stems from the rejection of the Samaritans as Jews recorded in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Old Testament, a view that is common among scholars today (MacDonald 2002, Ch. 3). Friedlander writes that "it is enough for us to know that the Jews have always *felt* themselves to be a separate race, sharply marked off from the rest of mankind" (10/16/1920).

TIJ also points out the irony of Jews claiming to be a religion in the U.S. while claiming to be a nationality in Eastern Europe. Jewish groups, including some based in the U.S., successfully lobbied the post-W.W. I peace conferences to achieve nationality status in Poland and other Eastern European countries. As several scholars have noted, religious forms of Judaism have acted as a "protective coloring" (Elazar 1980, 9) adopted because "it is a legitimate way to maintain differences when organic ways [i.e., assertions of ethnic peoplehood] are suspect" (Elazar 1980, 23). As Katz (1986, 32) notes, "The definition of the Jewish community as a purely religious unit was, of course, a sham from the time of its conception." Cuddihy (1978) discusses the rise of Judaism, which comprises one of the three major U.S. religions along with Protestants and Catholics despite constituting only 2–3% of the population.

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The International Jew on Anti-Semitism

TIJ takes the view that anti-Semitism results mainly from Jewish behavior and that it can be rationally understood by adducing appropriate evidence. *TIJ*'s view is that non-Jews who attempt to understand anti-Semitism by attributing blame to the Jews should therefore not be classified as anti-Semites:

> It would seem to be necessary for our Jewish citizens to enlarge their classification of Gentiles to include the class which recognizes the existence of a Jewish Question and still is not anti-Semitic. . . . Anti-Semitism is a term which is bandied about too loosely. It ought to be reserved to denote the real anti-Jewish temper of violent prejudice. . . . Nor is it anti-Semitism to say that the suspicion is abroad in every capital of civilization and the certainty is held by a number of important men that there is active in the world a plan to control the world . . . by control of the machinery of commerce and exchange. It is not anti-Semitism to say that, nor to present the evidence which supports that, nor to bring proof of that (June 19, 1920).

Anti-Semitism throughout history "has never accomplished anything in behalf of those who used it, and it has never taught anything to the Jews against whom it was used" (6/19/1920). Anti-Semitism "has sometimes broken into murderous violence . . . . There is, of course, no excuse for these outbreaks, but there is sufficient explanation of them" (6/19/1920). Jews tend to overattribute the Christian religious basis of anti-Semitism: "There is no hesitation in stating that there is no prejudice whatever in the Christian churches against the Jew on account of his religion" (6/19/1920). (Baldwin, who finds the roots of Ford's anti-Jewish attitudes in medieval religious attitudes, would have benefited by reading this passage.)

A common technique of those attempting to criticize Jews is to find Jewish authors who reflect their views. *TIJ* does this quite often, as in the July 10, 1920, installment where Theodore Herzl is used as a reference supporting the idea that Jews are nation. "He said, '*We are a people—One people*'." "Herzl's words are being proved to be true—'when we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat, *the subordinate officers of the revolutionary party*'" (7/10/1920). The entire passage is quoted as an epigram in the article for July 17, 1920: "*We are a people—One people . . . . When we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of a revolutionary party; when we rise, there rises also our terrible power of the purse.*" *TIJ* quotes an article by Lord Eustace Perry, republished "apparently with approval" in the Canadian *Jewish Chronicle*, as follows:

> Liberalism and Nationalism, with a flourish of trumpets, threw open the doors of the ghetto and offered equal citizenship to the Jew. The Jew passed out into the Western World, saw the power and the glory of it, used it and enjoyed it, laid his hand indeed upon the nerve centers of civilization, guided, directed and exploited it, and then—refused the offer . . . . Moreover—and this is the remarkable thing—the Europe of nationalism and liberalism, of scientific government and democratic equality is more intolerable to him than the old oppressions and

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> persecutions of despotism. . . . In a world of completely organized territorial sovereignties, he [the Jew] has only two possible cities of refuge: he must either pull down the pillars of the whole national state system or he must create a territorial sovereignty of his own. In this perhaps lies the explanation both of Jewish Bolshevism and Zionism, for at the moment Western Jewry seems to hover uncertainly between the two. In Eastern Europe Bolshevism and Zionism often seem to grow side by side, just as Jewish influence molded Republicanism and Socialist thought throughout the nineteenth century — *not because the Jew cares for the positive side of radical philosophy, not because he desires to be a partaker in Gentile nationalism or Gentile democracy, but because no existing Gentile system of government is ever anything but distasteful to him* (7/10/1920; emphasis in text).

TIJ comments: "All that is true, and Jewish thinkers of the more fearless type always recognize it as true. *The Jew is against the Gentile scheme of things"* (7/10/1920; emphasis in text). The passage quoted is in fact remarkably similar to the writings of prominent Zionist Maurice Samuel, especially his *You Gentiles* (Samuel 1924).

Characteristics of Jews

Apart from *TIJ*'s flights into conspiracy theories, especially in the case of the *Protocols*, its view of Judaism is reasonably congruent with my account (MacDonald 1994/2002). Jews are a highly talented group: the explanation of their success is in their "vigor, resourcefulness and special proclivities" (5/22/1920). Jews are an aggressive group. According to *TIJ*, from Biblical times they have endeavored to enslave and dominate other peoples, even in disobedience of divine command, quoting the Old Testament, "And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out."

Throughout history Jews have tended to be unpopular with the people while they have made alliances with elites (see also MacDonald 2002, 1998a): "What cared the Jew if the people gnashed their teeth against him, so long as the king and the court were his friends?" Jews have eschewed friendships with non-Jews because of a feeling of racial superiority, and indeed, "the Jew who reflects upon the disparity between his people's numbers and their power may be pardoned if he sees in that fact a proof of their racial superiority" (6/5/1920).

Jews in America separate themselves from others and do not assimilate; "he cultivates by his exclusiveness the feeling that he does not 'belong' " (6/5/1920). "The international Jew . . . rules not because he is rich, but because in a most marked degree he possesses the commercial and masterful genius of his race, and avails himself of a racial loyalty and solidarity the like of which exists in no other human group" (6/12/1920). There is considerable evidence that Jews are indeed highly ethnocentric, what one may even term "'hyperethnocentric" (MacDonald 1998a, Ch. 1; 2002).

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> The contention of certain modernists notwithstanding, the world will go on thinking of the Jew as a member of a race, a race whose persistence has defeated the utmost efforts made for its extermination, a race that has preserved itself in virility and power by the observance of those natural laws the violation of which has mongrelized so many nations . . . And he will always have the right to feel that to be a Jew is to belong to a superior race (6 / 12 / 1920).

Jews are intent on remaining resolutely separate in America:

> To love a Christian maiden is sinful; this is the theme of all sorts of stories, sketches and editorials appearing these days. But [playwright] James Gibbons Huneker, in a sketch extravagantly praised by Jewish critics, shows how deep this idea of separateness is when he makes [his character] Yaankely Ostrowicz say: "As a child I trembled at the sound of music and was taught to put my finger in my ears when *profane music*, Goy music, was played." This is the root idea: All Gentile life and institutions are "profane." It is the Jews' unceasing consciousness of the Goy that constitutes the disease of Judaism, this century-long tradition of separateness. . . . A study of Jewish publications, books, pamphlets, declarations, constitutions and charters, as well as a study of organized Jewish action in this and other countries, indicates that there is a tremendous amount of anti-Goyism, or anti-Gentilism. (3 / 12 / 1921)

TIJ sees Jews as suffering from moral particularism—a tendency to confuse morality with what is good for the Jews (see also MacDonald 2002). According to *TIJ*, Jews have a pronounced sense of ingroup-outgroup morality—"the ethics of the stranger," the classic being "unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury" (5 / 22 / 1920). But, according to *TIJ*, Jewish moral particularism goes beyond that to an inability to see things from the perspective of the other:

> Truly, these people are a paradox. They are not fair. They are constituted so that they cannot see the other side of anything. . . . Non-Jews are fair. They are willing to see the other people's point of view. When it was said to us *The Merchant of Venice* was a cruelty upon Jewish school pupils, we said, without investigation, "Out goes the Merchant, then!" (6 / 04 / 1921).

TIJ implores Jews to end their moral particularism and become a full participant in society:

> The Jew has been too long accustomed to think of himself as exclusively the claimant on the humanitarianism of society; society has a large claim against him that he cease his exclusiveness, that he cease exploiting the world, that he cease making Jewish groups the end of all of his gains, and that he begin to fulfill, in a sense his exclusiveness has never yet enabled him to fulfill, the ancient prophecy that through him all nations of the earth should be blessed.

TIJ sees Jews as ruthless fanatics who will oppress others if given the chance. The main examples in the contemporary world are said to be Bolshevism and the Jabotinskyists, the fanatic and violent Zionist terrorists in Palestine. However, *TIJ* also provides a brief history of Jewish violence against Christians and others during antiquity, including the events in Jerusalem in 614 AD in

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which 60,000 Palestinian Christians were massacred by Jews after being purchased as war booty from the conquering Persians. This is indeed an event worth noting.

The Israeli archaeologist Ronny Reich writes: "They were probably sold to the highest bidder. According to some sources, the Christian captives at Mamilla Pond were bought by Jews and were then slain on the spot." An eyewitness, Strategius of St. Sabas, was more vivid: "Jews ransomed the Christians from the hands of the Persian soldiers for good money, and slaughtered them with great joy at Mamilla Pool, and it ran with blood. Jews massacred 60,000 Palestinian Christians in Jerusalem alone" (Shamir 2001). *TIJ* also includes the famous quote from 18th-century British historian Edward Gibbon on Jews in the ancient world:

> From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives; and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind. The enthusiasm of the Jews was supported . . . by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles, that a conquering Messiah would soon arise, destined to break their fetters and to invest the favourites of heaven with the empire of the earth (Gibbon, 1909; as quoted in *TIJ*, 8/27/1921).

Zionism

TIJ describes a propaganda campaign in the U.S. media in favor of Zionism. *TIJ* quotes an article from the *Atlantic Monthly* warning that "the information we receive in America comes through the Jewish Telegraph Agency and Zionist Propaganda. 'The latter . . . with its harrowing stories of pogroms in Europe, and its misrepresentations of the situation in the Near East, has been able to awaken not a little sympathy for the Zionist propaganda.' This propaganda of pogroms—'thousands upon thousands of Jews killed'—amounts to nothing except as it illustrates the gullibility of the press. No one believes this propaganda, and governments regularly disprove it" (5/28/1921).

Commenting on Zionist riots against the natives of Palestine ("the 'persecuted' turned persecutor"), *TIJ* notes that the High Commissioner of Palestine is Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew, and that all the ministers of the commission are Jews. The British government sentenced militant Zionist Ze'ev Jabotinsky to 15 years in prison for leading riots against the natives, but "he was released immediately upon the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel, and is now traveling in state, and is talked of as a possible successor to Sir Herbert, although

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he is originally one of the Russian Bolsheviki come down to practice the gentle arts of that tribe in Palestine." *TIJ* takes the view that the long-term intention of Zionism is to establish Israel as a world power: "It begins to be very clear that Jewish nationalism will develop along the line of enmity to the rest of the world. . . [T]he Jews are thinking of elevating themselves into the military power that shall stand between East and West on that most strategic strip of ground in the world" (5/28/1921). In a comment foreshadowing the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948 and reminiscent of recent comments by U.S. and Israeli politicians on the status of the West Bank, *TIJ* quotes Zionist activist Israel Zangwill stating, "Let [the natives] get out! We must gently persuade them to 'trek.' After all, they have all Arabia with its million square miles, and Israel has not a square inch. There is no particular reason for the Arabs to cling to those few kilometers" (5/28/1921).

Jews and Political Radicalism

TIJ takes the view that contemporary Communism is an extension of traditional Jewish collectivism: "The traditional Jewish Kahal [i.e., Jewish self-government] is really the same as the modern Soviet: Under the Kahal or ancient Soviet, the Jews lived by themselves and governed themselves . . . . It was communism in a more drastic form than has been seen in the world outside Russia. Education, taxes, domestic affairs, all were under the absolute control of a few men who constituted the ruling board. . . . All property was in common, which did not prevent the leaders becoming rich" (8/28/1920). (This last statement is not accurate. Property was not held in common in traditional Jewish communities.)

As was common during the period, *TIJ* points to the very prominent role of Jews in the Bolshevik government in the USSR (9/25/1920) and in Bela Kun's short-lived communist revolution in Hungary (8/28/1920). *TIJ* notes the continuation of Hebrew schools in the Soviet Union—an aspect of the Soviet government's well-known encouragement of secular Jewish culture during this period (*Evsektsiya*). *TIJ* provides a list which claimed that 17 of the 22 members of the "Council of the Commissaries of the People" are Jews. *TIJ* does not cite its source except to say that it was "smuggled out of the Soviet Union." Many such lists were circulated during the period, and it is impossible to find a consensus on their authenticity or accuracy. Nevertheless, it is certainly true that Jews had a privileged position in the early years of the Soviet government and were a critical part of the ruling elite (Lindeman, 1998; MacDonald, 1998b, Ch. 3).

TIJ states that Jews hailed the victory of Bolshevism at first. "There was no concealment whatever in the early days of the new regime as to the part which Jewry had in it. Public meetings, interviews, special articles poured forth in which very valuable elements of truth were mingled. There was no attempt at

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concealment of names. Then the horror of the thing began to take hold upon the world, and for just a breathing space Jewish opinion fell silent. There was a spasmodic denial or two. Then a new burst of glorification. The glorification continues within Judaism itself, but it now carries on the Gentile side of its face a very sad expression labeled 'persecution.' We have lived to see the day when to denounce Bolshevism is to 'persecute the Jews'" (9/25/1920).

TIJ points to an article from *The American Hebrew* of 9/10/1920 that claimed "That achievement [referring to the overthrow of the Czar] . . . *was largely the outcome of Jewish thinking, of Jewish discontent, of Jewish effort to reconstruct*. This rapid emergence of the Russian revolution from the destructive phase and its entrance into the constructive phase is a conspicuous genius of *Jewish discontent*. . . . *What Jewish idealism and Jewish discontent have so powerfully contributed to accomplish in Russia, the same historic qualities of the Jewish mind and heart ARE TENDING TO PROMOTE IN OTHER COUNTRIES*" (9/25/1920; emphasis provided by *TIJ*). *TIJ* comments, "Why are 'Jewish idealism' and 'Jewish discontent' always linked together?" Jewish writers have often fancifully linked Jewish radicalism to idealism and moral superiority (see MacDonald, 1998b, Ch. 3), but linking it at the same time to Jewish discontent would indeed seem to be the height of self-deception.

TIJ also cites an article in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of 1919 stating, "There is much in the fact of Bolshevism itself, in the fact that so many Jews are Bolsheviks, in the fact that the ideals of Bolshevism at many points are consonant with the finest ideals of Judaism" (10/2/1920). The same paper contained an article in 1920 by Israel Zangwill praising "the race which has produced a Beaconsfield [i.e., Disraeli], a Montagu, a Klotz, *a Kurt Eisner* [leader of the short-lived Communist government in Bavaria], *a Trotsky*" (emphasis in *TIJ*). *TIJ* also reproduces part of an article from the newspaper *The Communist*, stating,

> Without exaggeration, it may be said that *the great Russian social revolution was indeed accomplished by the hands of the Jews*. Would the dark, oppressed masses of the Russian workmen and peasants have been able to throw off the yoke of the bourgeoisie by themselves? No, *it was precisely the Jews who led the Russian proletariat to the dawn of the Internationale and not only have led, but are now leading the Soviet cause* which remains in their safe hands. . . . It is not without reason that during the elections to all Soviet institutions the Jews are winning by an overwhelming majority (9/25/1920; emphasis by *TIJ*).

TIJ attributes most of the Jewish support for Bolshevism in the U.S. to the Jewish trade unions in the garment industry (4/23/1921). *TIJ* describes the radicalism of the union leaders but also emphasizes their links with the wider Jewish community and particularly their membership in the Kehillah and the links between the Kehillah and the American Jewish Committee. For example, "another big union which makes part of the New York Kehillah is the

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Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, whose membership is about 200,000. It is officered by Russian Jews whose pronounced Bolshevism has been widely reported in the Jewish press of New York" (4/23/1921).

Such linkages between radical groups and mainstream Jewish organizations were indeed common at least until the 1950s. For example, the 50,000-member Jewish People's Fraternal Order was an affiliate of the American Jewish Congress and also listed as a subversive organization by the U.S. Attorney General. The JPFO was the financial and organizational "bulwark" of the CPUSA after World War II and also funded the *Daily Worker* and the *Morning Freiheit* (Svonkin 1997, 166). Although the American Jewish Congress severed its ties with the JPFO and stated that communism was a threat, it was "at best a reluctant and unenthusiastic participant" (Svonkin 1997, 132) in the Jewish effort to develop a public image of anti-communism—a position reflecting the sympathies of many among its predominantly second- and third-generation Eastern European immigrant membership.

Jews and the Federal Reserve System

TIJ is deeply suspicious of the Federal Reserve System enacted into law in 1913 after being proposed originally by Paul Warburg, a German-Jewish immigrant and partner in the Kuhn, Loeb & Co. investment banking firm. Baldwin's account hardly does justice to *TIJ*'s treatment, stating only that *TIJ* "mistakenly [accuses] Warburg of advocating only one central bank, when in fact he had pushed from the beginning that the core be tied to diversified branches" (pp. 213–214). *TIJ* acknowledges that the system is tied to various branches but provides a quotation from Warburg suggesting that this formal structure could be overcome administratively, and it provides data indicating that a vastly disproportionate amount of loans were being made through the New York branch—that the New York branch had become *primus inter pares*.

TIJ agreed that it was a good idea to have a centralized banking system, but complained that the system actually functioned to funnel money away from agricultural areas, where credit remained tight, to New York, where it was used to further the interests of Jewish financiers who were international in outlook and concerned to promote Jewish interests rather than the interests mainly of the United States. The main suspicion was directed at Kuhn, Loeb, & Co. because of Warburg's role in creating the Federal Reserve System and because Warburg had become director of the Federal Reserve Board. *TIJ* noted that the members of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co. had international ties by business and blood to other Jewish banking firms in Europe.

TIJ provides several examples of the international focus of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co. For example, *TIJ* recounts the well-known fact that Jacob Schiff, a Jewish activist and partner in the firm of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co., had financed the Japanese war effort against the Russian Empire in 1905 and had also provided financial

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support to revolutionary movements within Russia that eventually led to the overthrow of the Czar. *TIJ* also noted that Schiff hated the Czarist Russian government because of its treatment of its Jewish citizens—certainly an accurate assessment. In other words, *TIJ* is suggesting that the Federal Reserve might be used to promote the international ethnic interests of Jews rather than the interests of the United States.

TIJ also points to the internationalism of Paul Warburg's connections by quoting Otto Kahn, another partner in Kuhn, Loeb, & Co., to the effect that American money should be put to use in helping build up the French empire, particularly Syria. (In the same passage, *TIJ* notes the role of international Jewish organizations in getting the French to guarantee Jewish interests in Syria.) Moreover, *TIJ* asserts that Max Warburg, of the German branch of the banking family, was implicated in a U.S. government document as financing Trotsky's campaign against Russia. *TIJ* also supports its claim of the internationalism of Jewish bankers by noting that the German Warburgs also made a loan to the city of Paris during W.W. I. "[T]he international financiers have been so engrossed in world money that the sense of national responsibility sometimes becomes blurred in their minds" (7/09/21).

TIJ cites figures indicating that the great majority of loans and money are funneled through the New York Fed rather than the eleven other branches located around the country. "The money is in New York. Go out through the agricultural states, and you will not find it. Go into the districts of silent factories and you will not find it. It is in New York. The Warburg Federal Reserve has deflated the country. . . . The Federal Reserve Idea was doubtless right; if it had not been, it could not have been established. But it has been manipulated. . . . Kuhn, Loeb & Company, the Speyers and the other Jewish money-lenders have money for Mexico, Norway, Germany, and all sorts of commercial companies being organized to do business overseas, and it is American money. The Warburg Federal Reserve System has been badly misused, badly manipulated, and the country is suffering from it" (7/16/1921).

The *Protocols*

The discussion of the *Protocols* and references to them throughout the work is definitely the low point of *TIJ*. Since the *Protocols* were exposed as fraudulent, it has been very easy to discredit the entire enterprise of *TIJ* because of its extensive use of them, and that is exactly what Baldwin does. *TIJ* was well aware of claims that the *Protocols* had been claimed to be forgeries, but rejected them, stating, for example, "This makes the sixth 'final' and 'complete' exposure that the Jews have put forth for public consumption. The Jews have still time to repent and tell the truth. Suppose they make the seventh the whole truth with a true repudiation of the Protocols" (10/8/1921).

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The *Protocols* present a "theory" in which absolutely every aspect of modernism is explained as the result of a single, centuries-old overarching Jewish conspiracy to subjugate non-Jews. To be charitable, *TIJ* always presents the *Protocols* as only tentatively authentic. *TIJ* argues repeatedly that the best evidence for the authenticity of the *Protocols* is that events that have transpired since the *Protocols* were written conform to its predictions. And *TIJ* acknowledges that, even granted that the predictions have come true, one must also provide actual evidence that Jews have been behind the events forecast by the *Protocols*.

The difficulty is that, while some of the statements from the *Protocols* discussed in *TIJ* seem fairly straightforward, many are not falsifiable. Moreover, *TIJ* often fails to provide evidence that Jews are actually behind the events supposedly forecast by the *Protocols*. A general problem with the *Protocols* is that they have too much of a tendency to see any and all actions of Jews as aiming for a common purpose of subjugating non-Jews. While authors like Baldwin apologetically deny any group cohesion to Jews, the *Protocols* err on the opposite side by fitting everything Jews do into an overarching Jewish conspiracy.

The *Protocols* are written in such a way that virtually anything that happens—even anti-Jewish actions—can be seen as part of a Jewish conspiracy. For example, according the *Protocols* and *TIJ* (7/31/1920), the fact that Jews head labor unions and are prominent capitalists does not show real differences among Jews but only that all the forces of society are run by Jews for a common purpose: to subjugate non-Jews. *TIJ* approves of Protocol Nine, which states that "At the present time, if any government raises a protest against us, it is only for the sake of form, it is under our control and it is done by our direction, for *their anti-Semitism is necessary for keeping in order our lesser brothers*" (9/18/1920). The following is intended to give a flavor of *TIJ*'s use of the *Protocols*.

TIJ claims that the "World Program" outlined by the *Protocols* has several aspects: financial control; political control; control of education; "trivializing the public mind through a most complete system of allurement"; and "sowing the seeds of disruption everywhere—not the seeds of progress, but of economic fallacies and revolutionary temper" (9/18/1920). *TIJ* takes the view that acceptance of the *Protocols* is not to be at face value but only as the result of evidence, "if reliable" (7/17/1920). "Whether the method laid down by the Protocols is worth considering or not depends entirely on whether it can be found in actual affairs today" (9/18/1920).The *Protocols* are regarded as the "theory of Jewish World Power rather than the actual operation of that power in the world today," the latter to be discovered by compiling evidence (7/24/1920). For example, "whether the Protocols are of Jewish origin or not, whether they present Jewish interests or not, this [i.e., religious and race hatreds] is exactly the state of the world, of the Gentile world, today" (7/31/1920).

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TIJ argues that the idea of a common Jewish plot to rule the world would not be expected to be known by the average Jew and that such a proposal is really no more surprising than to suppose that the Jewish nation has a foreign policy: "There can be little doubt . . . as to the existence of what may be called a 'foreign policy,' that is, a definite point of view and plan of action with reference to the Gentile world. The Jew feels that he is in the midst of enemies, but he also feels that he is a member of a people—'one people' [quoting Zionist pioneer Theodore Herzl]. He must have some policy with regard to the outer world." *TIJ* states that, "If, in looking about the world, it is possible to see both the established conditions and the strong tendencies to which these Protocols allude, it will not be strange if interest in a mere literary curiosity gives way to something like alertness, and it may be alarm" (8/7/1920). In the long run, the goal of the Jews is international control: the *Protocols*: "Then our international rights will eliminate national rights in the narrow sense, and we will govern the governments as they govern their subjects" (8/7/1920).

The *Protocols* and *TIJ* yearn for a world without division and dissension, presumably a reflection of the traditional Russian society whose ideals the *Protocols* reflect. Both the *Protocols* and *TIJ* yearn for a world without confusion, where everyone has similar beliefs. Every departure from this homogeneity is seen as the work of the Jews intended to subjugate non-Jews. From the *Protocols*: "People of all opinions and of all doctrines are at our service, restorers of monarchy, demagogues, Socialists, communists, and other Utopians. We have put them all to work" (7/31/1920). All theories, including scientific theories, are part of the plan: There is a "'Jewish' plan to split society by 'ideas'" (8/14/1920). *Protocols*: Let *those theories of life which we have induced them to regard as the dictates of science* play the most important role for them. . . . Note the successes we have arranged in *Darwinism, Marxism,* and *Nietzscheism*" (7/31/1920). Racial strife and class antagonism are part of the plan, and *TIJ* sees the latter fulfilled in Russia where there is "*the spectacle of a Gentile lower class led by Jewish leaders against a Gentile upper class!*" (7/31/1920). "The whole outlook of these Protocols upon the world is that the *idea* may be made a most potent poison" (7/31/1920). "*We create* courts." "*We have* taken good care long ago to discredit the Gentile clergy and thereby to destroy their mission" (7/31/1920).

Jews use their influence to corrupt non-Jews, and especially non-Jewish youth. *Protocols*: "To prevent them from really thinking out anything themselves, we shall deflect their attention to amusements, games, pastimes, excitements and people's palaces." *TIJ* interprets the following as a fulfillment of the *Protocols*: "Every influence that leads to lightness and looseness in Gentile youth today heads up in a Jewish source" (8/7/1920). "While a certain percentage of the Jewish youth itself is overcome by this social poison, the percentage is almost nothing compared with the results among the youth of the

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Gentiles" (8/7/1920). *Protocols*: "To destroy Gentile industry, we shall, as an incentive to this speculation, *encourage among the Gentiles a strong demand for luxuries—all enticing luxuries*" (8/7/1920).

Corresponding to this attempt to corrupt non-Jews, the *Protocols* has a very low estimate of non-Jewish human nature:

> The *Protocols*: People in the masses and people of the masses are guided by exceptionally shallow passions, beliefs, customs, traditions, and sentimental theories and are inclined toward party division, a fact which prevents any form of agreement, even when this is founded on a thoroughly logical basis. . . . Our triumph has also been made easier because, in our relations with the people necessary to us, we have always played upon the most sensitive strings of the human mind—on calculation, greed, and the insatiable material desires of men (7/31/1920).

Reflecting the *Protocols'* tendency to see everything working together to suit Jewish ends, *TIJ* notes, "Distrust and division are everywhere. And in the midst of the confusion everyone is dimly aware that there is a higher group that is not divided at all, but is getting exactly what it wants by means of the confusion that obtains all around" (7/31/1920).

Conclusion

TIJ is far from ideal as an analysis of Jewish issues. However, apart from its immersion in the *Protocols*, its major claims about Jews are correct and have been corroborated by later scholarship. Jews are indeed an ethnically closed group that has vigorously sought to remain separate from the peoples they have lived among throughout their history. They are a very talented group, adept equally at building businesses and lobbying Congress. They have shown a penchant for being able to influence the media, not only via ownership but also via economic pressure and overrepresentation among journalists, writers, and producers of media content. Jews were indeed deeply involved in political radicalism during the 1920s and thereafter, and *TIJ* was quite correct to emphasize the importance of Zionism to the later history of Jews and to the world in general.

What strikes the reader of *TIJ* is its portrayal of Jewish intensity and aggressiveness in asserting its interests. Jews were unique as an American immigrant group in their hostility toward American Christian culture and in their energetic efforts to change that culture (see also MacDonald 1998b, 2002). From the perspective of *TIJ*, the United States had imported around 3,500,000 mainly Yiddish-speaking, intensely Jewish immigrants over the previous forty years. In that very short period, Jews had had enormous effect on American society. The following are, I think, examples of Jewish influence on the U.S. in which *TIJ* is essentially accurate:

1. Jews had achieved a great deal of economic success, even to the point of dominating certain important U.S. industries.

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2. Jewish organizations had launched highly successful campaigns to remove any references to Christianity from U.S. public culture and to legitimize Judaism as a religion on a par with Protestantism and Catholicism.

3. Jewish organizations had been able to impose their ethnic interests on certain key areas of domestic policy. As *TIJ* noted, Jews were the main force behind maintaining the policy of unrestricted immigration; by 1920, unrestricted immigration policy had continued nearly twenty years after U.S. public opinion had turned against it (see MacDonald 1998b, Ch. 7). Jews had also shown the ability to have a great deal of influence in the executive branch of the U.S. government, as indicated by their influence in the Wilson administration.

4. Jews had also been able to impose their ethnic interests in the area of foreign policy despite widespread feelings among the political establishment that the policies advocated by the Jewish community were often not in the best interests of the United States. The main examples highlighted by *TIJ* were the abrogation of the Russian trade agreement in 1911 and post-W.W. I policy toward Eastern Europe, cases in which Jewish attitudes were entirely dictated by their perceptions of the interests of foreign Jews rather than the economic or political interests of the U.S. Jews achieved their goals on these issues despite the views of the Taft administration on the Russian trade agreement and the views of a wide range of military and diplomatic figures that the U.S. should support post-W.W. I Poland as a bulwark against Bolshevism and that Jewish complaints against Poland were exaggerated (see Bendersky 2000).

5. Jews had been a major force behind the success of Bolshevism and its incredibly bloody rein of terror in the Soviet Union and in the abortive Communist revolutions in Hungary (headed by Bela Kun) and in Germany (headed by Kurt Eisner).

6. Jews were the main component and by far the most energetic component of the radical left in the United States, a movement that advocated a massive political, economic, and cultural transformation of the U.S.

7. Jews had attained a substantial influence over the U.S. media via a virtual monopoly on the movie production business, domination of the theater and music businesses, their influence in journalism, ownership of some newspapers, and their ability to apply economic pressure on newspapers because of their importance as advertisers. In turn, the ability of Jews to pressure non-Jewish newspapers depended on Jewish ownership of department stores in major cities. Jews used this media influence to advance their domestic and foreign policy agendas, portray Jews and Judaism positively while portraying Christianity negatively, and promote a sexual morality at odds with the traditional culture of the United States.

8. In turn, these consequences stemmed from critical features of Judaism as a group evolutionary strategy (MacDonald 1994 / 2002) that were well recognized, if crudely stated, by *TIJ*: Jews are highly intelligent, and Jews are intensely ethnocentric: "The international Jew . . . rules not because he is rich, but because in a most marked degree he possesses the commercial and masterful genius of his race, and avails himself of a racial loyalty and solidarity the like of which exists in no other human group" (6 / 12 / 1920).

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TIJ reported some success in having Jewish issues discussed publicly. For example, the July 17, 1920, article stated that "A great unloosening of speech with reference to the Jewish Question and the Jewish program for world power has occurred in this country since the beginning of this series of articles." The article goes on to quote articles and editorials on Jewish radicalism, including an article in the *Chicago Tribune* ("Trotsky Leads Jew-Radicals to World Rule: Bolshevism only a Tool for His Scheme") and a *Christian Science Monitor* editorial giving credence to the "Jewish peril."

Nevertheless, despite this upsurge in discussion of Jewish issues as a result of the publication of *TIJ*, public discussions of Jewish issues have remained more or less taboo. Father Charles Coughlin discussed Jewish issues in his widely disseminated radio broadcasts in the 1930s until being effectively shut down in 1940 as a result of a decision by the National Association of Broadcasters to forbid selling airtime to "spokesmen of controversial public issues" (Marcus 1973, 176; see also Warren 1996)—a regulation that was explicitly aimed at keeping Coughlin off the air. In September 1941, Charles Lindbergh had few, if any, defenders in the media when he was subjected to a torrent of abuse for stating a simple fact, that Jews were one of three groups advocating U.S. involvement in W.W. II against Germany (the others being Britain and the Roosevelt administration). In the long run, the *TIJ* was simply a blip in a long-term trend that continues into the present.

Kevin MacDonald is Professor of Psychology, California State University—Long Beach, and the author of: ***A People That Shall Dwell Alone*** *(1994),* ***Separation and Its Discontents*** *(1998), and* ***The Culture of Critique*** *(1998) published by Praeger. A revised edition of* ***The Culture of Critique*** *(2002), with an expanded introduction, is available in a quality soft cover edition from www.1stBooks.com or www.amazon.com.*

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National Wealth and Intelligence

IQ and the Wealth of Nations

Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen
Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002
$64.95

256 pp.

Reviewed by Edward M. Miller

The thesis of Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen's *IQ and the Wealth of Nations* is that differences between nations in income are basically due to differences in their populations' intelligence. Countries with more intelligent populations are better able to master complex modern technologies and hence enjoy higher standards of living. While this theory has probably occurred to others, this is the first time it has been rigorously developed and put to a quantitative test.

The heart of the book is the demonstration that national IQ and national incomes are correlated. Lynn is well suited for this exercise because he is probably the leading expert on international comparisons of IQ. In the course of other work, he has accumulated a massive database of studies in which IQ tests were given in different countries. Because there are different tests, scored in various ways, an appreciable amount of work had to be done to make all of the scores compatible. Since test scores appear to be increasing over time (for reasons that are unknown, although Lynn has speculated that improved nutrition is a major part of the explanation), scores had to be adjusted to provide for this factor as well. A natural question is whether it is even meaningful to talk about an average national IQ. By comparing cases in which a minimum of two tests had been given in the same nation, Lynn demonstrates that similar scores were achieved, thus showing that the reliability is sufficient to make international comparisons.

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The book's most important finding is that there was a correlation in 1998 of 0.733 between real gross domestic product and the national IQ calculated over eighty-one nations. The gross domestic products here have been calculated using published exchange rates. Since some think it is more accurate to compare national incomes in terms of what the incomes will actually purchase, results are also presented and compared for gross domestic products using purchasing power parity. For sixty-five countries with suitable data in 1998, the correlation was 0.775.

Lynn and Vanhanen also run and plot regression analyses of national product versus national IQ. IQ explains part of the differences in national product, but only part. The natural question is what explains the part of national income that is not explained by the level of national intelligence, the residuals. Presumably, it is some factor specific to one or more countries. A few of the largest positive residuals can be explained for 1998. Equatorial Guinea has such a low measured IQ that the regression equation predicts a negative national product. Since this is impossible, it has a large positive residual. Qatar has an income well above expectation; this is probably explained by income from oil production. Barbados has a positive residual; this may also be explained by natural resources (Barbados is a well-located tropical island), which makes possible enough well-paying jobs to raise its income above what it would otherwise be.

In a later discussion, Kuwait, Bahrain, Brunei, Gabon, and the United Arab Emirates are added to Qatar as countries whose high income is explained by oil. Botswana benefits from diamonds. The Bahamas, Antigua and Barbados, Cyprus, Malta, and St. Kitts and Nevis appear to be other island states for which tourism (related to natural resources) raises income.

Although the authors point out (correctly) that foreigners provide the expertise for the tourism and petroleum industries, standard economic theory provides that countries with high ratios of natural resources to population are expected to have higher per capita national products.

Standard economic theory has always recognized that national income is influenced by the quantity and quality of natural resources. Possession of oil is probably the most important of such natural resources. It would appear an even more important factor, except that IQ data are lacking for most of the world's thinly populated oil-producing countries. Although less important in the world economy, small islands with good beaches (an island can have a high ratio of beaches, coral reefs, and picturesque ports to population), distinct cultures, and the possibility of exploiting their independent status to become an international financial center are provided for in mainstream theory. A relatively small number of tourist-related and financial service jobs can raise national income appreciably in a small country. Of course, the percentage of the world's population on such islands is small.

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Similar analyses are provided for historical data on national incomes along with attempts to explain the outliers. For instance in 1900 Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand had large positive residuals, which the authors attribute to these countries efficiency of agriculture and livestock production. An economist might note their large amounts of good farmland per capita and predict that this would raise their income above what would be justified by their labor inputs alone. When this higher income was divided by the population, their per capita incomes would be found to be above average.

Many of the positive and negative residuals in the historical data can be explained by whether the "industrial revolution" had reached them yet. For historical reasons industrialization began first in northwestern Europe, then spread slowly across the rest of the world. The largest negative residuals in earlier data included China, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Russia, Taiwan, and Thailand, which the industrial revolution had not yet reached.

Similar attempts are made to explain the deviations for 1930 and 1960, but the accounts seem a little ad hoc and thin. Perhaps the problem is that neither of the authors is an economist, much less familiar with the large literature on economic development. It is to be hoped, however, that now that the intelligence hypothesis has been put forth along with sufficient data to make it plausible, specialist researchers with a knowledge of the many factors the authors have discussed, including the historical peculiarities of regions and countries, will join the fray and specify the other factors that have played a role in such deviations.

Let us return to understanding today's national incomes. South Africa has a large positive residual; it is a mixed-race country with the key decision makers and business leaders drawn from the white population. This case suggests an important qualification. Perhaps what is important is not so much the average intelligence (which is the variable used) as the fraction of the population that is of high intelligence, and thus able to organize industry and trade. In a country with a homogeneous population, the fraction with high ability can be calculated from the mean IQ and the standard deviation (or just from the mean if one assumes the standard deviations are typical). In a country with several distinct populations, however, the number of very able individuals will exceed what would otherwise be calculated from the average IQ. South Africa, with its large white minority in a predominantly black population, would be expected to have more individuals in the IQ ranges needed to understand modern technology than would have been predicted from its average IQ. This qualification could be important for a number of other countries.

More countries with negative residuals may be explained by special factors. Samoa and Tonga are small and isolated, which, it is suggested, limits their income (presumably if they had been close to North America or Europe they might have been more like Barbados and been above the regression line). Iraq suffers from the sanctions imposed after the Gulf War. Uruguay and Peru have

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lower than expected incomes, which is attributed to their high inflation rates. The authors note that most of Latin America has negative residuals. This suggests to them (and other authors) certain cultural factors.

Several Asian countries had appreciably negative residuals. The authors suggest the problem in the Philippines is related to ethnic strife (which they also give as a possible reason for poor performance in South American Surinam). They also suggest that shortfalls in Indonesia and Thailand may be related to lingering effects of the Asian economic crisis. Taiwan and South Korea are other Asian countries whose incomes are less than would be predicted. Although these countries are considered among the "Asian Tigers" because of their economic success, their populations do so well on intelligence tests that, according to the authors' thesis, these two countries ought to have performed even better economically.

The largest group of nations with positive residuals are technologically highly developed, Western, and East Asian: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Norway, Singapore, Switzerland, and the United States, which all have market economies.

Of the countries whose incomes are appreciably lower than would be expected from their levels of intelligence, six are former socialist countries (Bulgaria, China, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Russia). The residuals are negative for all former or current communist countries. The authors suggest that the low incomes of these countries are a result of their former political and economic systems.

Weighing all the residuals, positive and negative, it appears that the type of economic system has been an important factor: nations that have had free economic systems are above the regression line, and communist countries, both past and present, are below it.

Clearly, the intelligence-based theory of this book explains only part of the differences between nations in incomes. One plausible explanation is economic and political structure. The book provides data on indices of economic freedom (for 1997) and democracy (for 1998) for 122 nations. As noted, the low incomes of the communist and formerly communist countries suggest that economic freedom may be important.

Actually, economic freedom appears a little more powerful than IQ. For 1998 GNP per capita, the correlation with national IQ is 0.645, while it is 0.656 for economic freedom. For democracy the correlation is a little less at 0.542.

One of the authors, Vanhanen, had previously worked on measuring democracy and provided the Index of Democratization. Together, economic freedom and democracy can explain as much of the variation in per capita incomes as national IQ. Unfortunately, economic freedom, democracy, and national IQ are all correlated with each other, making it difficult to untangle the different variables statistically.

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One quantitative experiment is tried in *IQ and the Wealth of Nations*. Measures of economic freedom (the extent to which there is a market economy) and democracy are introduced into an equation along with national IQ.

For real gross domestic product per capita for 1998, the percent of the variance explained by IQ alone is 51%. Adding the measure of economic freedom raises this to 62%. In contrast, IQ plus the Index of Democratization raises the percent of variance explained only from 51% to 52%, while IQ, economic freedom, and democratization explain 62% of the variance.

It seems clear that economic freedom, when added to national IQ, makes an important contribution, but that democratization adds little. One of the authors' figures (8.5) shows that the economic freedom measure is much more important for the countries with IQ over 90. The role of the type of economic system has been noted above.

Although the subject of the book under review is IQ and national wealth, the evidence shows clearly the importance of the type of economic system. Socialist command economies have been much less favorable for economic development than have market economies. This having been established by other authors, the contribution of *IQ and the Wealth of Nations* lies in its demonstrating the powerful explanatory power of a single variable, the IQ of the country's population.

Edward M. Miller, research professor of finance at the University of New Orleans, is the author of over 150 articles as well as numerous book chapters in edited monographs. He received a Ph.D. from MIT in 1970.

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The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds

An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce

Robert S. Griffin
Bloomington, IN: 1st Books Library, 2001
$23.35

434 pp.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds is an uncommon book about a contemporary American racialist. Rather than merely scan the dossiers of the Anti-Defamation League or the Southern Poverty Law Center before interviewing his subject, author Robert Griffin took the trouble to immerse himself in the literature by and about the late William Pierce, one of the most radical voices on the racial right in the three and a half decades before his death last July. Thus Griffin knew the right questions to ask about Pierce's ideas and his singular career path from physics professor to colleague of American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell, and finally leader, spokesman, and chief propagandist of the National Alliance.

While troubled by his subject's fixation on violence, Griffin, a professor of education at the University of Vermont, is clearly sympathetic to many of Pierce's concerns about the direction of white America and the West, and his long sessions with Pierce, at the National Alliance headquarters in a remote area of West Virginia, were amicable as well as productive. Nonetheless *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* ably and objectively describes Pierce's strengths as a thinker and his shortcomings as a leader.

Through the marathon interviews that make up the greater part of his book, Griffin has allowed Pierce his own voice. And what a voice! William Pierce's impressive ability to speak conversationally in fully thoughtout, well-organized paragraphs for hours (here, pages) on end, which this reviewer observed first hand as a member of the National Alliance in the late 1970s, was still very much intact when Griffin interviewed him in 1998. The result is several hundred pages of informed, intelligent, and thoughtful (if

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freewheeling) commentary on the most taboo topics of our time: race, racial differences, the Jewish question, and the imperative (in Pierce's view) not merely of racial survival, but of evolution to something higher.

The book's interviews are structured so that they yield Pierce's oral autobiography, centered largely on his intellectual and spiritual awakening to the importance of the race issue (including chapters on such influences as Adolf Hitler, George Bernard Shaw, Revilo Oliver, and Savitri Devi) and on his subsequent efforts to act on his convictions. Under Griffin's questioning, Pierce describes his growth from a bright, curious, and not consciously ideological Southern youth (many of the details of his early education and upbringing parallel those described by sociobiologist E.O. Wilson in his autobiography *Naturalist*) to an academic and scientist increasingly concerned, in the early 1960s, at the implications of the movement for black integration.

One merit of *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* is the recognition it conveys that Pierce's radicalism grew out of the American right's timidity and confusion in the face of the threats to white America that erupted in the 1960s. While there were plenty of groups willing to countenance private remonstrations about the racial and Jewish problems, Pierce would settle for nothing less than addressing these matters publicly. That, and his admiring reading of *Mein Kampf*, led to his leap, after a brief membership in the John Birch Society, to the editorship, under the aegis of Rockwell, of *National Socialist World*, a journal more than a cut above other neo-Nazi publications.

After Rockwell's assassination by a disgruntled follower, Pierce struck out on his own as the chief of the radical National Alliance, which he directed from 1970 until his death. As Griffin recognizes, Pierce's influence came through his ability to formulate ideology and to write propaganda rather than from his skills at personal motivation or organizing. He was a pioneer among American racialist commentators in writing about race and related issues on a level informed by contemporary scientific findings (Pierce was quick to grasp the implications of sociobiology when it emerged in the 1970s). His knack for penetrating to the heart of racial issues impacting whites and the uncompromising rigor of his analysis have been unmatched by his contemporaries. His *Who Rules America?*, documenting the Jewish preponderance in the mass media, and his serialized racial history of the European whites (*Who We Are*) are classics of informed and intelligent advocacy; like all Pierce's writings, they are free of the religious and reactionary impedimenta that have hobbled numerous other racialist spokesmen.

On the other hand, much of William Pierce's writing over the years was vitiated by his compulsion to threaten, promise, justify, and seemingly advocate violence against perceived racial enemies. His periodical *Attack!* and its successor, *National Vanguard*, as well as his two novels, *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, fairly roil with threats and general exhortations to mayhem and

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massacre. That tone is somewhat muted in the interviews in this book: Pierce discusses the method and motives of his writings rather superficially, and the Griffin prefers not to press him directly over his violent prose.

There have been several consequences for the National Alliance of Pierce's purple prose. Many prospects stayed away, or once recruited, soon defected. Pierce's penchant for explosive language also made the Alliance that much more attractive to infiltrators from different sectors of our government's spy and police apparatus. Pierce speaks of visits from the Secret Service, and it would appear that the Alliance was watched by the FBI and by U.S. army intelligence as well. Finally, a few drawn to the Alliance by Pierce's writings, in particular the Grand Guignols conjured up in *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, acted on them in ways that have done nothing to advance white prospects in America. The fantasies of white guerrilla terror in *The Turner Diaries* served the late Robert Mathews and his followers as a model in the early 1980s, and Timothy McVeigh found inspiration in the *Diaries* before blowing up the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995. Perhaps the best thing that can be said of *Hunter* is that the recent serial sniper killings were evidently not inspired by its plot, in which the protagonist busies himself with shooting down interracial couples from ambush in the Washington area.

To be sure, Pierce's bark was infinitely worse than his bite (luckily for Jews, blacks, white race traitors, and other targets of his ire), but his tone had the effect of reducing the National Alliance's membership to a handful of the violence-prone and a rather larger faction willing to take Pierce's bluster as a mark of earnestness, but not seriousness. As Griffin notes, the National Alliance "hard core" (some fifty organizers from around the country gathered at headquarters for a conference) does not seem about to rise up in arms, something just as true of the great majority of members since the Alliance's inception some thirty-three years ago—and, of course, of William Pierce.

Griffin portrays Pierce as a rather lonely man, and sees the National Alliance as little more than a rostrum for Pierce as analyst and commentator. Whether the National Alliance and Pierce's Cosmotheist Community (despite its unfortunate name, an effort to implement a philosophy of evolutionary pantheism) survive their leader and founder is uncertain, in Griffin's accounting, although he has praise for the evidently able and dedicated staff that runs the Alliance's flourishing bookselling and music operations.

Is William Pierce worthy of the Norse inscription which lends this valuable and informative book its title? Author Griffin seems to think so, and one suspects that most fair-minded readers of *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* will regard with some generosity of spirit William Pierce's mistakes in a long and lonely career defending and championing our kind.

Theodore J. O'Keefe is an Associate Editor of ***The Occidental Quarterly***

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Ethnic Conflicts Explained by Ethnic Nepotism

Tatu Vanhanen
Stamford, Connecticut: JAI Press Inc., 1999
$82.50

xix + 370 pp.

Reviewed by Louis Andrews

Why are ethnic conflicts so common? Why do conflicts of interest in multiethnic societies almost invariably become ethnic conflicts? Why are such conflicts apparently universal and without regard to socioeconomic development level? Can a theory be developed that can answer these questions? Can this theory provide methods that can reduce or eliminate ethnic conflict?

These questions concerning ethnic conflicts are just some of those that Tatu Vanhanen, emeritus professor of political science at the University of Helsinki, takes up in a detailed study reported in his book, *Ethnic Conflicts Explained by Ethnic Nepotism*.

Vanhanen analyzes ethnic conflict in 148 nations and looks for "regularities," or patterns, among them using the same set of indices he has adopted in previous studies. These indices are discussed below. When it comes to ethnic conflict, Vanhanen notes that research is extensive, but theory rare. For years scholars have churned out articles and books on race, ethnicity, and ethnic conflict. Yet unlike other areas of sociological research, theory concerning ethnic conflict has been almost entirely neglected. When theory has been proposed in this egalitarian era, it has almost invariably been cultural, and often applied to blame ethnic conflict on social inequities and discrimination, primarily by the majority group. Often such theories don't pass muster, since the goal of the proponents is to transfer power and wealth from the haves to the have-nots to satisfy personal and group ideological ends.

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Vanhanen explains how unlikely it is that cultural theories will prove to be valid, since ethnic conflicts are universal regardless of culture. Given this universal aspect, he derives his political theories from biology. First, he argues that there is a Darwinian struggle for resources that is at the heart of political conflicts everywhere. Since we live in a world of scarcity and at the same time desire offspring, we are biologically programmed to advance our own survival (actually the survival of our distinctive genes) over the genes of others. As a result, conflict exists in all human societies and is both necessary and universal. Second, he adopts Pierre L. van den Berghe's concept of "ethnic nepotism," or the desire to favor kin over nonkin, as the basis for ethnic and racial favoritism. Since members of a specific ethnicity are more closely related than nonmembers, the theory of inclusive fitness, or kin selection,[1] dictates that kin will be favored over nonkin, which supports the idea of ethnic nepotism. Vanhanen does not limit the term "ethnic group" only to what we traditionally consider ethnic or racial groups, but includes all inbreeding groups, even religious and linguistic ones that can become "ethnic" in nature over time.

In addition to Darwin and van den Berghe, Vanhanen also draws on the work of several other scholars, including Jan and Brigitta S. Tullberg, from whom he adopts the idea that reciprocity may be key in reducing ethnic conflict. From J. Philippe Rushton he draws upon genetic similarity theory. Vanhanen writes:

> It seems to me that these two theories complement each other. Ethnic nepotism explains why people tend to favor kin over nonkin [cf. his spelling to reviewer's, p. 1]; Rushton's genetic similarity theory tries to explain how they recognize genetic similarity in non-relatives.

He notes:

> Our behavioral predisposition to ethnic nepotism evolved in the struggle for existence because it was rational and useful. It is reasonable to assume that ethnic nepotism is equally shared by all human populations. Consequently, all human populations and ethnic groups have an approximately equal tendency to resort to ethnic nepotism in interest conflicts. It explains the otherwise strange fact that ethnic interest conflicts appear in so many countries where people belong to clearly different ethnic groups, and that ethnic interest conflicts have emerged within all cultural regions and at all levels of socioeconomic development. It would be difficult to imagine any cultural explanation of ethnic conflicts that could explain the appearance of these conflicts across all cultural boundaries.

Vanhanen develops three hypotheses that he tests in his worldwide study of 148 countries.

> 1. In all human societies where significant ethnic divisions exist, they lead to ethnic interest conflicts.
>
> 2. The greater the ethnic division, "the more political and other interest conflicts tend to become canalized along ethnic lines."

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3. The level of conflict is lower where political institutions are based on reciprocity.

His methodology is to subject the 148 countries to several indices that he developed and used in other studies to test these hypotheses. First is the Index of Ethnic Heterogeneity (EH). Here Vanhanen assumes that race is more important than linguistic, tribal, or national divisions, since "divisions based on race or color are genetically the deepest ones because they are tens of thousands of years old." The EH index is based upon a scale that ranges from 0 to 200. In Europe, for example, Portugal is rated at 2, while Bosnia-Herzegovina comes in at 112 as the only European country with an EH greater than ninety.

Next is the Index of Ethnic Conflict (EC). This also rests on a scale of 0–200 and takes into consideration both violent and institutional conflicts. The author derives institutional ethnic conflict data from the existence of ethnic organizations since it "is reasonable to assume that the establishment of ethnic organizations indicates the existence of ethnic tension and interest conflicts based on ethnic divisions." Vanhanen divides the world into four areas, with the following results based on the correlation between EH and EC.

Area	**Countries**	**EH < 11**	**EC < 11**	**Diff**	**EH > 10**	**EC > 10**	**Diff**
Europe	38	11	10	-1	27	28	1
W Hemisphere	24	7	8	1	17	16	-1
Asia / Oceania	42	3	6	3	39	36	-3
Africa	44	3	4	1	41	40	-1
Totals:	**148**	**24**	**28**		**124**	**120**	

The Index of Democratization (ID), used in an earlier study by Vanhanen, is based on data from 1993 and is used to test his third hypothesis. Since a number of scholars have argued that democratization is the key to conflict reduction, not only between nations but also within nations, this would form a particularly important part of the study.

Vanhanen predicted that any country with an EH over 10 would experience significant ethnic conflict. His study to a large extent confirmed that. Of the 124 countries with an EH greater than ten, 118 experienced significant ethnic conflict, while only two of those with an EH of ten or less did. He found that his Index of Ethnic Heterogeneity was very strongly correlated (0.726) with the Index of Ethnic Conflict and even more so (0.857) with the institutionalized ethnic conflict component of the Index. The Index of Democratization could explain only about 10% of ethnic conflict. Conflict was created by the mere existence of ethnic diversity, not by governmental style or policies. In extreme instances such as in an authoritarian or totalitarian state, government might suppress conflict, but if controls were weakened it would reappear. Yugoslavia and the countries of the former Soviet Union are good examples.

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> I have to conclude, on the basis of empirical evidence, that the level of ethnic conflicts seems to be nearly independent for the degree of democratization. Ethnic conflicts have emerged at all levels of democracy.

Further, he notes that "ethnic nepotism leads to ethnic interest conflicts in all societies independently from their level of socioeconomic development or from the degree of democracy because all human populations share the same behavioral predisposition to ethnic nepotism."

Using GNP figures for the year 1994 for the 148 countries, Vanhanen concludes:

> Relatively weak negative correlations indicate that the level of modernization or socioeconomic development does not provide a satisfactory explanation for the variation of ethnic conflicts. Ethnic conflicts seem to be only slightly less common in rich and socioeconomically developed countries than in less developed countries. This means that it would be unrealistic to expect the disappearance of ethnic conflicts at higher levels of socioeconomic development. Thus the results. . . support, at least indirectly, the assumption that ethnic nepotism belongs to human nature and that it is independent from the level of socioeconomic development (modernization) and also from the degree of democratization.

So where are *we* headed? Decreased birth rates among the European-derived peoples and wide-scale immigration into their countries of nonwhite, non-European populations means that ethnic conflict for the West will not just persist, but increase in the years to come. How then can a different future be assured? The Tullbergs have proposed partition or separation in a widely discussed paper, "Separation or Unity? A Model for Solving Ethnic conflicts," in the September 1997 issue of *Politics and the Life Sciences*. Vanhanen acknowledges that in some situations this might be the best policy. In other instances he believes intermarriage might be a solution, but a long look at Brazil and similar countries would seem to make that less likely a road toward racial peace. Finally he argues that our evolved disposition toward reciprocity can reduce ethnic conflicts if groups are granted equality, but his is not the typical leftist or egalitarian approach concerning equality. Vanhanen writes:

> I think that it is important to take these characteristics of human nature into account when attempts are made to adapt social structures and political institutions to the requirements of ethnic nepotism. Because every ethnic group wants to survive and at least to manage its own affairs, if it is not capable of subjugating other groups, it would be advisable to give them sufficient autonomy, and to leave them room to pursue their interests in national politics on the basis of equality. If ethnic groups occupy separate territories, it might be useful to establish federal structures even in relatively small countries. Federalism is in harmony with our disposition to territorial behavior.

As Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, the founder of human ethology, has put it:

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> In multi-ethnic states, federalistic structures allow different ethnic groups self-government within certain bounds and in cooperation with the other groups sharing a superordinate interest on the basis of reciprocity. This can work as long as such a social contract implies that differential reproduction at the cost of the other is avoided. . . .

This is a marvelous book and one recommended for the library of every person or institution interested in causes and prevention of ethnic conflict. It might have been improved, however, by including two additional theories of group dynamics, as well as some acknowledgement of inherent group differences on an individualist–collectivist scale.

Kevin MacDonald has written three books and several articles on Jewish-gentile conflict. He relies heavily on social identity theory (SIT), which is explained in detail in chapter one of the second book of his trilogy, *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism*. This theory, as well as the one that follows, is really a cultural one with a basis in evolutionary biology. The eight most pertinent points of the theory in relation to ethnic conflict as discussed here are taken directly from MacDonald.

> 1. The social characterization process results in discontinuities such that people exaggerate the similarities of individuals within each category.
>
> 2. Social identity research indicates that the stereotypic behavior and attitudes of the ingroup are positively valued while outgroup behavior and attitudes are negatively valued.
>
> 3. The result of these categorization processes is group behavior that involves discrimination against the outgroup and in favor of the ingroup; beliefs in the superiority of the ingroup and inferiority of the outgroup; and positive affective preference for the ingroup and negative affect directed toward the outgroup.
>
> 4. These tendencies towards ingroup cohesiveness and devaluations of the outgroup are exacerbated by real conflicts of interest.
>
> 5. Competition between groups is not a necessary condition for the development of ingroup biases.
>
> 6. People tend to manipulate their social identity in ways that provide positive self-evaluations.
>
> 7. People readily adopt a group mentality and engage in collective behavior of an often irrational, intensely emotional sort.
>
> 8. There is no requirement that beliefs regarding either the ingroup or the outgroup may be true.

Although neither Vanhanen nor MacDonald addresses it, I believe that Optimum Distinctiveness Theory (ODT), a subset of SIT developed by Marilynn B. Brewer, past president of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, is also important in understanding ethnic conflict. It not only explains the heightened racial-ethnic awareness of small groups in a mixed environment, but also to some extent the relative lack of racial consciousness we currently see

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among whites in the United States and Europe. This current characteristic is described most succinctly by Sam Francis's well-known aphorism that "whites exist objectively, but not subjectively." Brewer notes:

> Social identification and group loyalty will be strongest for groups that are optimally distinct, i.e., those that are large enough to satisfy an individual's need for belonging and inclusion and small enough to satisfy the need for distinctiveness and differentiation. Groups that are in the numerical minority are more likely to be optimally distinct because they offer both a sense of being similar to fellow minority group members and a sense of being different from members of the majority group; minority group members are therefore more likely to exhibit strong ingroup identity and loyalty. The greater sense of belonging found among minority group members may explain the benefits derived from participation in racial / ethnic student organizations and minority support programs. Membership in the majority group of whites, on the other hand, is too inclusive an identity to stimulate feelings of belonging.

In other words, groups must be small enough to maintain distinctiveness. If they become too large or too inclusive, they will tend to fractionalize and splinter. In addition, selfish behaviors will predominate and individualism will replace group interests. If a sufficiently distinctive social group can be maintained, then the collective self will dominate the individual self.

There is an old saying that the victor writes the history. But more important is that the victor creates the new mythology that justifies that history. Today the Western World is consumed with two ideas of that new mythology: human racial-ethnic equality and individualism. This mythology has been promoted by Democrats and Republicans; Christians, Jews, and secular humanists; liberals and conservatives; and in the case of individualism especially, by libertarians.

The concept of individualism has been used to counter efforts by minority ethnic groups to promote group interests. That is, for integration to be successful all ethnic group interests must be subordinated to the greater values of individualism. Thus the saying, "by the content of their character, not by the color of their skin." Unfortunately for the individualist position, as Frank Salter has noted:

> When competition is limited to individuals and families and does not involve ethnies, individuals can behave in ways that approximate the optimal (individual) utility maximization modeled by econometricians. But in multiethnic states individual economic rationality is maladaptive when it leads to loss of relative ethnic fitness and ethnic stratification, as is common in multicultural societies.

Both the promoters of this individualism and those multiculturalists who defend minority ethnic interests insist on equal outcomes as the proof of whether or not minority groups are oppressed. But, of course, this policy of using equal outcomes as a rational guide means that the "character" (i.e. behavior and IQ) of ethnic groups must be the same. Otherwise there is no way

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to judge the policy's effectiveness. If otherwise healthy twelve- and twenty-year-olds are given the same test, their failure to perform identically is not indicative of the quality of the education policy.

Despite the claims of individualist ideologues and antiracists, all ethnic and racial groups behave, at least to some extent, *as groups*. Vanhanen points out that ethnic nepotism is natural, normal, and exists in all groups in all societies, even when the individual is unaware of it. So in the typical interethnic conflict in the West, the minority group member blames it on racism, while the majority group member rejects majority membership and says we should consider everyone as individuals.

As the black legal scholar Lani Guinier once noted, "Talking about race for people of color. . . is the natural thing to do. . . for whites, talking about race is uncomfortable." Blacks understand that they share many interests in common with other blacks as well as some with whites. Whites used to understand that they also shared many interests in common with other whites as well as some with blacks. They, like blacks, used to understand that sometimes *group interests differ*. But after fifty years of egalitarian propaganda in which everyone is merely an individual and race doesn't matter, whites have become true believers, whereas blacks know better. Therein lies the problem.

As Vanhanen notes, ethnic conflict resolution in a free multiethnic society requires reciprocity between groups, but in our case whites recognize only one group: blacks. Building a viable community requires that whites think of themselves as a group, just as blacks do. Only then can reciprocity work, and conflicts be resolved.

Cries of racism by blacks are self-serving weapons, just as are cries by whites that we should ignore race. Such noise from both sides is natural, and successful resolution requires that they be ignored.

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*Louis Andrews is a businessman and creator of the **Stalking the Wild Taboo** website. He is also web editor/publisher and business manager of **The Occidental Quarterly**. Mr. Andrews has written for Right Now! as well as other publications and lives in Augusta, Ga.*

End Notes

1. Though most people, including Vanhanen, treat inclusive fitness and kin selection as identical, the originator of the theory of inclusive fitness argued that it was a more general term than that of kin selection. See Hamilton (2001).

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A Requiem For The South

Can the South Survive?

Michael Andrew Grissom
Wynnewood, OK: The Rebel Press, 2001
$22.50 US

700 pp.

Reviewed by Dwight D. Murphey

Americans who have not lost track of their roots in the American past endure an inward agony. They know that the country and the people they have fondly revered have largely passed from the scene. The pervasive trends toward ever-deeper cultural decay and loss of national memory could be reversed if "enough people would wake up." But the average American's coma seems so intractable that there is little chance of that.

If someone who views the country as a whole feels that way, imagine how another person must feel whose deepest loyalties are to the ideals and culture of the Old South. Michael Andrew Grissom is an author who, to the deepest levels of his being, feels that attachment.

This book is a paean to the image of the South as it once was, and a description of what has befallen it. There is a two-century sweep to the book, and its perspective is so different from what this reviewer has read before that I count it as one of the more instructive books I have read. Most readers will find that it has much to say that is new to them. And since Grissom makes no effort to conform his thought to "political correctness," the book rings with sincerity and with the sort of truth that both surprises and delights.

The seven hundred pages of Grissom's book present a coherent account to which a brief review can't do justice, but here are some salient parts nevertheless:

First, his description of the antebellum South is similar to that given by Richard Weaver in *The Southern Tradition at Bay*. What one thinks of as "the South" of that time was a white population drawn from English, Dutch, French, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish stock. A new but genuine landed aristocracy

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had arisen among them, around whom was based a culture and way of life that was "a fair imitation of European feudalism." There was magnificence, fashionable gaiety, dignity and formality, religious sensibility, chivalry, and a *noblesse oblige* that led to a fundamental paternalism toward the slaves whom, since Harriet Beecher Stowe, we have been accustomed to picturing as having been much abused. In all, it was a culture very different from that of the North. (The North, for example, held the "work ethic" in high esteem, consistent with the principles of an individualistic, commercial society. The South valued leisure and the gentility that went with it.)

Second, a virtue of Grissom's book is that it gives us a window into how a Southern traditionalist sees the events that led up to the horrific war of 1861–1865 and the developments that followed it. The South was devastated by the war, with its chivalric leadership replaced by a sort of man in search of immediate results. The South was for several years under military occupation, and its political system was turned over to three million former slaves, with all of the implications that that entailed. When this incursion was over, Southerners quite imperatively reclaimed white control and worked toward a system of "parallel societies." Grissom quotes Carleton Putnam to the effect that "the South, after generations of experience, had developed customs and a way of life with the Negro that took his limitations into consideration with a minimum of friction and a maximum of kindness."

This perception is worth noting, because it differs so greatly from today's impression. The traditional Southern position (supported articulately by Booker T. Washington) was that it was "better for the Negro to develop his own race by concentrating upon the infrastructure of the race, strengthening its social and economic and educational systems from within as opposed to clamoring for a piece of the white pie." At the same time, there was a "white consciousness" that was aware of its own imperatives. The existence of "parallel societies" was reflected in the "separate but equal" principle. Most Americans today would observe that "that was a hypocritical principle—separate but certainly not equal." Grissom says, however, that that impression is wrong. He points out that two black colleges were established in Selma alone, and that Mississippi was, at the time of *Brown v. Board of Education*, "increasing its black school funding with record appropriations." The reluctance to give blacks the vote is explained by the memory that their vote had been "manipulated during Reconstruction" and the knowledge that "black voters have, without exception, voted as a bloc from their political inception."

As a traditionalist, Grissom has little sympathy for the "New South," whose leading proponent was Atlanta's Henry W. Grady. This sought the industrialization of the South in partnership with Northern capital. Over time, the South came under the sway of a "powerful triumvirate" of business, Northern-owned newspapers, and "liberal politicians." This was far removed from the traditional culture.

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The 1954 *Brown* decision desegregating schools came as a bombshell, marking the "beginning of the end" for a South based primarily on the old way of life. Voices that might have provided an intellectual rationale for the South's defense were brushed aside not only by Americans in general, but by a silent, irresolute Southern population. Grissom describes at length the confrontation at Ole Miss and tells how it broke the South's morale. He describes the Old South, so far as it still exists, as lying prostrate under an incubus of "media bias, fictionalized history..., political correctness..., deracinated megalopolises..., and confusion." Even the "Southern church" is rapidly being overhauled. Ongoing efforts are under way to erase the symbols of the South's past, with the removal of tombstones marking Confederate graves, attacks on the playing of "Dixie," the changing of the Ole Miss mascot, new license plates, and, of course, the drive to do away with displays of the Confederate flag. This is an effort to obliterate the Southern memory.

Third, Grissom's attention is primarily on the South, but he sees that its current predicament is mirrored by the condition of the United States in general. He says that "America is in a state of spiritual, moral, and political degeneracy"—and cites many specifics. In politics, the word "conservative" has become meaningless, just as the Republican Party has become irrelevant as its leaders refuse to wage the cultural fight and to resist demographic inundation by the Third World. In Grissom's narrative, these are not just generalizations, but realities brought alive by his many examples.

He sees as perverse the "multiculturalism" that is the reigning ideology. He puts it starkly: "Multiculturalism means recognition of every culture except the one belonging to the white man." His examples point to endless double standards now applied against whites and in favor of minorities. The fact that Grissom is willing to speak openly about these realities rather than in whispers is intellectually a major virtue of his book. Most of those who support "the West" speak in terms of culture and political principle, not of race; and for the most part that seems to remain preferable. But today's adversary culture doesn't content itself with attacking Western civilization; it also poses a racialist challenge to the future existence of Caucasians as such. It is that attack that forces the question of race on those who would otherwise avoid it, and Grissom at least is one who is prepared to discuss it. This makes his book one of the more important in today's highly constrained "marketplace of ideas."

Fourth, this reviewer considers it unfortunate that Grissom ends with a chapter on "The Case for Secession." The strongest argument for secession by the South today is that nothing else seems to be working, either for the South or for the United States (or for the West) as a whole. But that negative certainly doesn't make a positive out of secession. What Grissom has described is a contemporary South that has none of the leadership, spiritual force, intellectual insight, or personal fortitude to mobilize and make a secessionist movement successful. The United States may well someday break up, but that will be

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because of its own debility and demographic inundation, not because a significant pocket of strength has suddenly emerged from hearts and minds that are otherwise enervated. (A fatalistic surrender to this enervation is itself effete and ineffectual, but under contemporary circumstances a militant, seemingly virile alternative would itself be an act *in extremis* that would simply underscore how far Americans have departed from their past.) There is no substitute for a general revival, which seems an impossibility.

Nevertheless, there is as much chance for Americans in general to throw off the existing incubus as there is for today's South to do so. And if that's true, there is every reason for anyone who sees himself as an *American* patriot—because of his love for an image of America as a whole—to take great offense at the suggestion of any part of the United States seceding. To such a person (and this reviewer is one), the thought of Southern secession or of the breaking off of a southwestern "Aztlan Republic" is virtual treason, softened only by the despairing knowledge that the America he has loved is fast disappearing in any event. Some very fine people are speaking the language of secession today, but they need to know that any move in that direction will split quite profoundly the very constituency to which they would need to look for support.

Even though there are those of us to whom a call for secession is repugnant, that doesn't change the fact that there is much in Grissom's book worth reading. The chapter and verse he cites about the history of slavery among blacks in Africa is itself worth the price. That history goes far beyond the capture of some blacks by others who took them to the coast and sold them to slave traders. The nineteenth century accounts of slavery and black-on-black brutality in Africa are chilling, and put Southern slavery into an altogether different perspective. More and more, it seems that perspective is essential to an understanding of history.

Dwight D. Murphey is an attorney and professor of business law at Wichita State University and the author of ***Emergent Man*** *(1962),* ***Understanding the Modern Predicament*** *(1982),* ***Modern Social and Political Philosophies: Burkean Conservatism and Classical Liberalism*** *(1982),* ***Socialist Thought*** *(1983),* ***Liberalism in Contemporary America*** *(1992),* ***The Dispossession of the American Indian—And Other Key Issues in American History*** *(1995), and* ***Lynching—History and Analysis: A Legal Studies Monograph*** *(1995).*

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About the Editors

- **Editor**

Kevin Lamb, a Hoosier native and graduate of Indiana University, with undergraduate degrees in political science and journalism, is a conservative freelance writer who has published in several periodicals, including *National Review*, *Chronicles*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Society*, *Mankind Quarterly*, *Conservative Review*, *The Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies*, and is a frequent contributor to *The Social Contract* and *Right Now*. A former intern of the National Journalism Center (Washington, DC), and former Marine reservist, Mr. Lamb resides with his family near Washington, DC.

- **Associate Editor & Book Editor**

Samuel Francis, Ph.D., is a graduate of Johns Hopkins University (BA, 69) and the University of North Carolina, (MA, 71; PhD 79), and former policy analyst with the Heritage Foundation as well as a former U.S. Senate staff member. Formerly an award-winning staff columnist with *The Washington Times*, where he served as editorial writer, 1986-91, deputy editorial page editor, 1987-91, Dr. Francis writes a nationally syndicated column, is a contributing editor to *Chronicles*, where he writes a monthly column "Principalities and Powers,"and is currently Editor-in-Chief of the *Citizens Informer*. He is the author of *The Soviet Strategy of Terror*, Heritage Foundation, 1981; *Power and History: The Political Thought of James Burnham*, University Press of America, 1983; *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism*, University of Missouri Press, 1993; and *Revolution from the Middle*, Middle American Press, 1996. His writings have appeared in major newspapers and magazines, including *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *National Review*, *The Spectator* (London). Dr. Francis also serves on the Board of Editorial Advisors for *Modern Age: A Quarterly Review*.

- **Web Edition Editor**

Louis Andrews is a graduate of the College of Charleston (BS, 66) and did graduate work in the Department of History at the University of South Carolina. He is a businessman, web developer, and writer and has been published in *Right Now!*, the *Augusta Chronicle*, and the online journal *pinc* for which he served as book review editor. He is also the developer and web-master of the Stalking the Wild Taboo website. Though a native of South Carolina, Mr. Andrews has lived in Augusta, GA since 1982.

- **Associate Editor**

Theodore J. O'Keefe studied history and classics at Harvard College. During his career in publishing he has edited several racial-nationalist and historical revisionist periodicals and helped bring numerous books on European and American history and culture into print. O'Keefe has also published many articles on the political and cultural aspects of our civilization's contemporary crisis.

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Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., editor of *The Social Contract*, is a policy analyst and historian. He has published widely on population and immigration concerns. With a Ph.D. in history, Dr. Lutton has been research director for an educational institute and a college professor. He is the author or contributor to many books and monographs including *The Immigration Time Bomb* (revised 1988), and *The Immigration Invasion*. His articles and reviews have appeared in *Chronicles*, *National Review*, *The Social Contract* and other journals of scholarship and opinion.

Richard Lynn, Ph.D., professor emeritus of psychology, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Londonderry, Northern Ireland, is the author most recently of *Eugenics: A Reassessment* (Praeger, 2001), *The Science of Human Diversity: A History of the Pioneer Fund* (University Press of America, 2001), and *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations* (Praeger, 1996). Other published writings include: "National IQ and Economic Development: A Study of Eighty-One Developing Nations," (with Tatu Vanhanen) *Mankind Quarterly* (Summer 2001), "Geographical Variation in Intelligence," in *The Scientific Study of Human Nature: Tribute to Hans J. Eysenck at Eighty*, (editor) Helmuth Nyborg (Pergamon, 1997), "The Decline of Genotypic Intelligence," and "In Support of the Nutrition Theory," in *The Rising Curve: Long-Term Gains in IQ and Related Measures*, (editor) Ulric Neisser (APA, 1998). A contributor to various monographs and psychological journals, Dr. Lynn's previous books include: *Educational Achievement in Japan: Lessons for the West* (M.E. Sharpe, 1988), (editor) *Dimensions of Personality: Papers in Honour of H.J. Eysenck* (Pergamon, 1981) and *Personality and National Character* (Pergamon, 1971). He currently serves as an editorial advisor to *Mankind Quarterly*.

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Kevin MacDonald, Ph.D., professor of psychology, California State University-Long Beach, is the editor of *Population and Environment* and former editor of the *Human Behavior and Evolution Society Newsletter*. He is the author most recently of *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Praeger, 1998), *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Praeger, 1998), and *A People that Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (Praeger, 1994). As a frequent contributor to monographs and author of numerous articles in evolutionary psychology, religion and ethnic relations, his previous books include: *Sociobiological Perspectives on Human Development* (Springer-Verlag, 1988), *Social and Personality Development: An Evolutionary Synthesis* (Plenum, 1988) and (editor) *Parent-Child Play: Descriptions and Implications* (State University of New York Press, 1993).

Brent A. Nelson, Ph.D., a freelance writer, is the author of *America Balkanized - Immigration's Challenge to Government* (American Immigration Control Foundation 1994) as well as numerous articles and book reviews.

James C. Russell, Ph.D., is the author of *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (Oxford University Press, 1994) and has taught classes at Saint Peter's College, New Jersey.

Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance* and president of the New Century Foundation, is a graduate of Yale and of the Paris Institute of Political Studies. He is the author or editor of several books, most recently, *The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration, and the Future of America* (New Century Books, 1998) and *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (Carroll & Graf, 1992).

Derek Turner, editor of the London-based conservative quarterly *Right Now!*, is a British journalist and frequent contributor to *Chronicles* and *The Social Contract*.

Miles D. Wolpin, Ph.D., J.D., is professor emeritus of political science, State University of New York, Potsdam, (NY) and the author of a dozen books, including *Alternative security and military dissent* (Austin & Winfield, 1994) and *America insecure: arms transfers, global interventionism, and the erosion of national security* (McFarland & Co., 1991) as well as scores of articles on militarism, national security, Third World politics, and immigration. He is a frequent contributor to *The Social Contract*.

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